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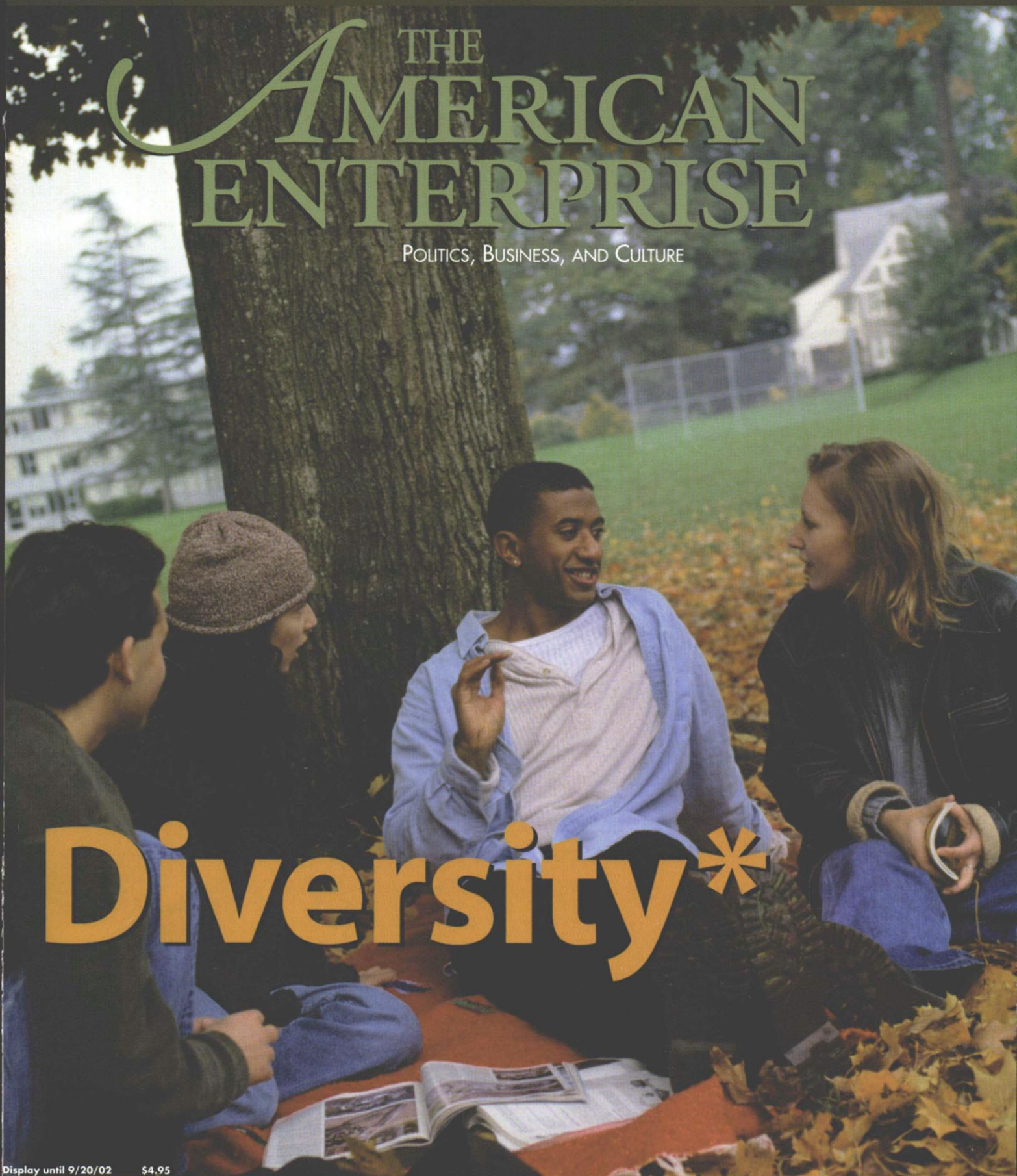

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SEPTEMBER 2002

Coming to PBS in September

Think TANK

with

BEN WATTENBERG

Changing Schools: A Think Tank Special

It's a feisty time in American education. The Supreme Court's recent decision has upheld school choice. The "No Child Left Behind" act has been signed into law, requiring testing and accountability nationwide.

In September, PBS stations will air "AKA Creek: The Education of a Big City Schoolboy," an impressionistic documentary that follows the life and troubles of a Los Angeles high school student.

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Check local listings for airdates and times.

For more information on Think Tank, contact Ben Wattenberg at 202.862.5908 or Greg Erken at 202.862.4882.

PBS

THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS

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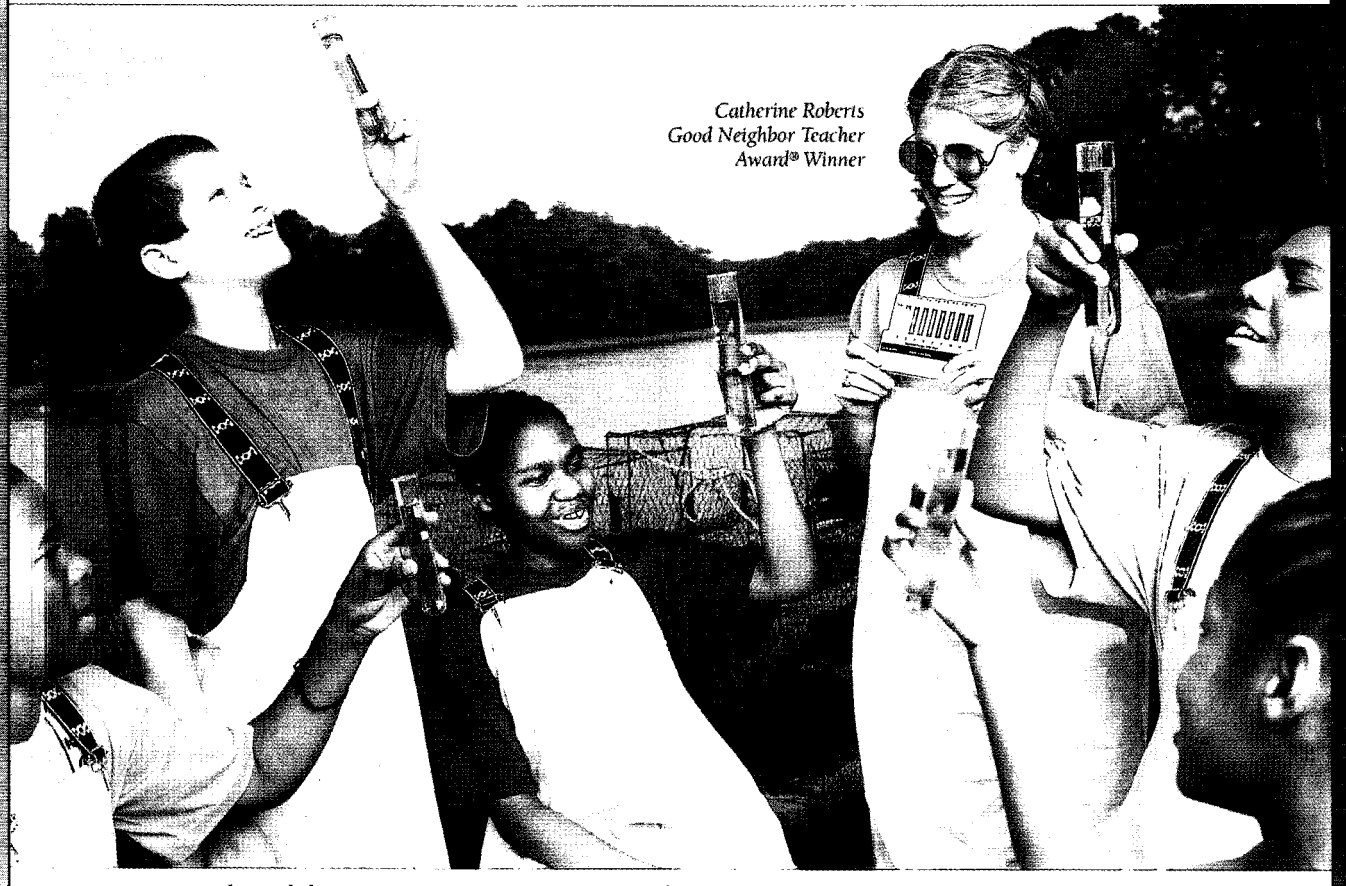

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

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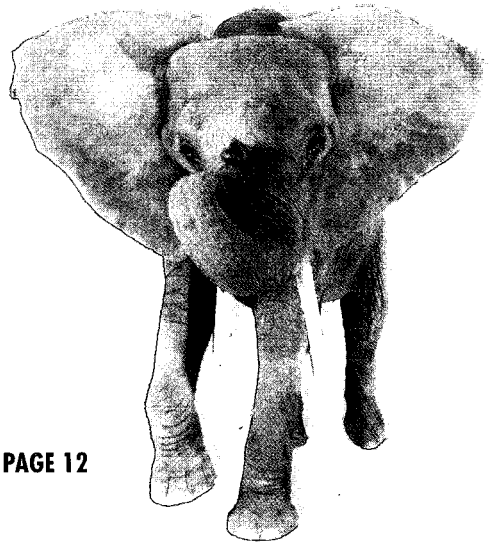

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Bird's Eye

James Forman, Jr.

Great Expectations

The importance of a university education is not seriously disputed in the United States. Most Americans agree that, whether one is seeking what former British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli called "a place of light, of liberty, and of learning," or simply the opportunity to earn 75 percent more than the average high school graduate, a college campus is the place to look. Even as our primary schools are routinely attacked for under-performance, our higher education system continues to draw students from around the world.

Nonetheless, America's institutions of higher learning should not be immune from criticism. In an *Atlantic Monthly* cover story, Jennifer Washburn of the New America Foundation argued that universities' increasing reliance on corporate sponsorship threatened their independence. Many authors in this issue of *TAE* challenge our higher education system as well: Their common theme is that our nation's universities have become less and less ideologically diverse, as administrators, professors, student activists, and even textbooks have become increasingly, and one-sidedly, liberal.

The central premise of this issue is that our nation's universities should reflect America's real diversity. I welcome this focus on diversity but suggest that we broaden it a bit. As both a university professor and the founder of an inner-city charter school, I would argue that any discussion of righting our unbalanced colleges must include the question of how to increase the number of low-income students. According to the Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance, an independent advisory committee to Congress, students from poor families are only half as likely to attend college as their similarly academically qualified higher-income peers.

It was with numbers like these in mind that David Domenici and I started the Maya Angelou Public Charter School in Washington, D.C. Maya Angelou students are in school ten and a half hours a day, studying mostly core subjects. When not in class, they work in student-run businesses, where they earn money and learn practical job skills. The results have been impressive. More than half of our students had stopped even *attending* school on a regular basis before they came to Maya Angelou. Over one third had been acquainted with the juvenile court system. Nonetheless, more than 80 percent of our charter school graduates go on to college. What we have learned about helping disadvantaged students get to college is consistent with what other educators teach: Students must expect that they will go to college, they need to be academically prepared to go to college, and they must have the financial resources to go to college.

The number of politicians that rally behind the mantra of high expectations these days threatens to turn it into something of a cliché. That would be unfortunate, as anyone who works closely with disadvantaged students is acutely aware of the power of high expectations and the destructiveness of low ones. When I attended a mostly black, mostly poor and working-class Atlanta public high school, the slogan was "Stay in School." The emptiness of that exhortation became clear to me once I got to Brown University, as one of only a handful of my high school's graduates to go to college and the first to attend an Ivy League

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university in any teacher's memory. My Brown classmates had never been told to "stay" in high school. Finishing school was assumed. Their goals were to excel in high school, then in college, then in graduate school, and then in their careers. And so they did.

But high expectations alone aren't enough. While there is no single prototype for a successful school, everyone agrees on some essential components: sustained relationships with caring adults; a peer culture that pushes students to excel academically; a rigorous and engaging curriculum; an administration dedicated to supporting its frontline staff; sustained parental involvement in learning; and a school culture that demands excellence from everyone.

Still, students who expect to attend college and are academically prepared require yet one more asset: money. For many students, this means governmental financial aid. This is especially so since the purchasing power of Pell Grants (the nation's largest needs-based grant program) has declined, and tuition costs at public universities have risen at three times the rate of inflation.

If high expectations, academic preparedness, and financial access are the keys to college education, what must we do to put them in the hands of low-income families? Our first priority must be to invest in the capacity of schools that have proven successful with low-income populations. The school choice movement has produced successful educational models around the country. Last year *TAE* visited some of those schools (See "Model Schools: 14 Academies Where Kids Really Learn," January/February 2001).The Boston non-profit Jobs for the Future has also identified many effective schools and programs. A great many of these schools, however, are upstart non-profits, with the desire, but not the capacity, to expand. Institutional obstacles—including inadequate funding for basic operations and the difficulty of paying for school buildings—present huge barriers to expansion even for the most successful programs. Consider Maya Angelou Charter School: Despite our impressive results, we're stretched too thin to plan for growth.

Throw facilities into the mix and the obstacles become even more daunting. It took three years of relentless hard work—effort we should have been able to focus on education, not fundraising—to obtain the resources necessary to turn an abandoned building on a drug-infested corner into a model school and inviting community center. Many civic leaders have asked us to expand to additional sites and accept more kids, but in a city full of abandoned buildings, nobody has offered a facility.

Our school is not alone. In most regions there is at least one model program successful at getting poor kids to college, but as long as such programs are denied funding and facilities for expansion, they will remain isolated models.

The next priority must be to take school choice seriously. Last term's Supreme Court decision upholding the Constitutionality of the Cleveland and Milwaukee school voucher programs was hailed by some as the *Brown v. Board of Education* of our generation. The premise of the voucher movement is that it is immoral to deny poor parents the right to choose the best school they can find. If parents are willing to make the sacrifice to get their child to that school, then the government should facilitate that choice. But what if the best school available is located, as such schools often are, in a suburb? Taking school choice seriously means that poor children should not be denied the right to attend the suburban school either. Suburban governments near Cleveland and Milwaukee chose not to participate in the voucher programs, making their schools inaccessible to city kids. If it is immoral for government to deny children the freedom to attend private schools, how is it less so to deny them the choice of suburban schools?

Our final priority must be to ensure financial access for students from low-income families. The Higher Education Act of 1965 expires next year, and the coming debate offers a chance to address the problems identified by the Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance. The Committee reports that if we do nothing to increase financial aid, over the next decade more than 4 million qualified students will be unable to afford a four-year college education and more than 2 million will be unable to afford any college at all. In 1970 President Nixon said, "No qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money. That has long been a great American goal; I propose that we achieve it now." Next year's reauthorization offers us a second chance to achieve that worthy goal.

Expanding the number of low-income students on college campuses will certainly benefit those students, their families, and the nation's economy. But it will also make the college experience richer for all students, as they share dorms and classrooms with individuals from *truly* diverse backgrounds. Finally, I suspect it might also have an ancillary benefit that would appeal to some of this issue's authors: Given my experience in working with low-income teens, I predict that more of them will use their college opportunity to prepare for meaningful careers than to organize animal rights protests.

BIRD'S EYE guest author James Forman, Jr., is a fellow at the New America Foundation and an adjunct professor at the University of Michigan Law School.

Karl Zinsmeister will return in our next issue.

This issue of *The American Enterprise* was commissioned by Karl Zinsmeister and edited by Karina Rollins and Eli Lehrer.

We are pleased to announce the debut of a new department in *TAE*. WORKING LUNCH will present brief comments—culled from mealtime interviews—with behind-the-scenes experts on current affairs. The first installment can be found on page 50.

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Sidelights

"With all this market volatility, I'm really glad we put all our money into our home entertainment system."

Kenya strategically placed witch doctors throughout the World Cup stadium in order to assist its soccer team. ❦ A sign reading *Smert Zhidam* — "Death to Yids"—was seen alongside a road just outside Moscow. When 28-year-old **Tatyana Sapunova** tried to remove the sign, it exploded. Sapunova lost an eye in the blast. ⋯ "There is nothing in Islam that gives legitimization to Judeophobia, xenophobia, and the rejection of any human being because of his religion or the group to which he belongs," according to **Tariq Ramadan**, a Muslim college lecturer in Switzerland. "Anti-Semitism has no justification in Islam, the message of which demands respect for the Jewish religion and spirit, which are considered a noble statement of the People of the Book." ❦ New Jersey high-school student **Eboni Wilson** won a contest with her essay in favor of sexual abstinence. She was pregnant at the time. ❦ In an effort to accommodate gay students who, due to homophobia or sexual tension, may be "uncomfortable" sharing quarters with a same-sex roommate, more colleges are allowing men and women to share dorm rooms. ⋯ Some students at Cleveland's Lakeland Community College were instructed to wear a Nazi-style pink triangle on campus for a day as a symbol of gay rights and then write about the experience.

"Only by uniting the effort of the people and the state can we confront these threats. That was well proven by the anti-**Hitler** coalition. The coalition countries defeated the enemy. And today, we are again uniting and finding allies against a common threat. Its name is terrorism." So said Russian president **Vladimir Putin** at a rally in Moscow celebrating Victory Day, the anniversary of Nazi Germany's defeat. ❦ The Serbian newspaper *Blic* discovered that 97 percent of the Internet sites visited by Web surfers at the Serbian parliament building contained hard-core pornography. ❦ Nearly half of Italians have a favorable impression of **George W. Bush**, according to a survey by the German news magazine *Spiegel*. Less then 40 percent of Brits do.

London Metropolitan Police are banned from using the word "nitty-gritty" because the term supposedly refers to the debris found at the bottom of a slave ship after a voyage. ❦ Hollywood actor **Sean Penn** complained that we "now have a President who thinks in terms of good and evil, and that comes from watching too many Hollywood movies." ❦ The People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals demanded that an Austin, Minnesota high school change the name of its sports teams. Austin High's athletes are known as the Packers, and PETA argued that being named after slaughterhouse workers is "nothing to be proud of." PETA suggested the name "'Pickers,' which would promote a healthier, plant-based diet." ⋯ Under pressure from PETA, the National Collegiate Athletic Association will only use synthetic-skinned basketballs at future NCAA championship games. ❦ Househusbands have an 82 percent higher earlier-death rate than men with traditional careers, according to a study by Eaker Epidemiology Enterprises.

An online petition urged director **Peter Jackson** to change the name of the next *Lord of the Rings* film, *The Two Towers*, because the "title is clearly meant to refer to the attacks on the World Trade Center. In this post-September 11 world, it is unforgivable that this should be allowed to happen." ⋯ *The Two Towers* is based on **J.R.R. Tolkien**'s book of the same name, first published in 1954. The World Trade Center opened in 1973. ❦ "The United States does not have a security system, it has a system for bothering people," said **Shlomo Dror**, an Israeli security specialist, referring to U.S. airport security. ❦ Fifty-four percent of Germans would like to have the deutsche mark back, according to a study by the Allensbach Institute. ❦ An Italian inventor has created a line of women's underwear that will sound an alarm if the wearer's bottom is pinched. ❦ Casino Aztar in Indiana is offering $5,000 to anyone who can beat its trained chickens at tic-tac-toe. The chickens get to go first. —*BB*

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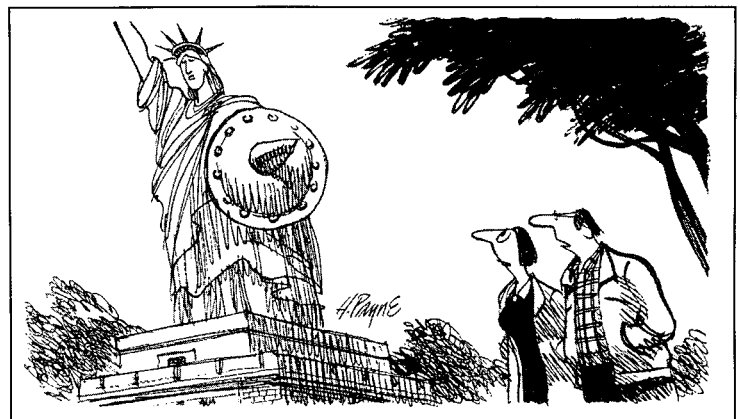

"They're stepping up security at U.S. Landmarks."

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SMALLPOX, BIG RISK

Don't feel bad if you missed the 1995 movie *12 Monkeys*, starring Bruce Willis and Brad Pitt—unless you spend your time trying to foil terrorist plots. The flick wasn't a critical success by any stretch, but it provides a simple plan for anyone looking to inflict maximum damage with a bio-terrorist agent.

In the film, a mad scientist nearly destroys the world by igniting a devastating plague with a deadly virus. The doctoral demon doesn't release his killer pathogen in a single city, as most of our government planners have gamed, but by traveling to half a dozen major cities and releasing his bug at each stop. Now that takes real ingenuity.

Well, not really, but somehow our government has failed to consider this scenario. Current plans for combating a potential attack with smallpox, clearly one of the most deadly of the possible bio-terror agents, call for selective vaccination at the site of an attack. What's really needed is mass vaccination *before* an attack and the development of drugs that can nix the infection as easy as antibiotics can treat pneumonia.

Why should we take smallpox so seriously? We know the Soviet Union was able to weaponize the deadly virus successfully. And we should just go ahead and assume that other rogue nations did not relinquish their stockpiles of the killer agent, as promised.

A terrorist attack with this virus doesn't need to be delivered by zooming missiles. It can be as simple as a handful of terrorists infecting themselves and coughing their way through the subways of our major cities. It kills one third of its victims and leaves others horribly disfigured, sometimes blind.

Right now, the government's official plan is to combat an attack by "ring vaccination." Federal health officials would fly the vaccine to the scene of an attack and quickly vaccinate as many of the local people as they can. It's a good plan if the virus springs up in a single location. If it is released in just a few other cities, ring vaccination is folly.

Federal officials have expanded their plan to include the vaccination of as many as 500,000 "first responders"—mostly emergency medical people and hospital workers. But the government still won't allow private citizens to get voluntary vaccinations—out of fear that the (minuscule) risk posed by the vaccine is more sinister than the likelihood of an attack and its effects.

Vaccination must be part of our strategy, but we also urgently need a drug that will kill the smallpox virus *after* a person has become exposed or infected. These kinds of drugs, born of an era of anti-viral breakthroughs as a result of AIDS research, languish on the shelves of at least a few biotechnology companies in the U.S. Their development is severely hobbled by regulatory and political obstacles.

One of the best of these drugs seems to be cidofovir, an anti-viral agent originally developed by the biotechnology company Gilead Sciences to treat AIDS. Cidofovir is already approved by the Food and Drug Administration for the treatment of some AIDS-related infections. While it's not a perfect solution (the drug must be administered intravenously and can cause kidney damage if taken for extended periods), Gilead has other drugs on its shelves waiting to be developed.

Under intense political pressure, the FDA recently outlined a mechanism by which companies can get approval for drugs that treat the agents of bioterrorism without going through the rigors of actually testing the drugs on real people with real infections. After all, how do you run a clinical trial testing a drug on people with smallpox, considering that the infection doesn't currently exist in the population? So the FDA will allow companies to test these drugs on monkeys.

But this kind of regulatory relaxation doesn't go far enough. Given the FDA's recent reluctance to take a lead in seemingly trivial matters, few from the drug industry believe the FDA will actually approve one of these smallpox drugs, even if a company jumps through all the

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DEADLY INTENTIONS

Tarajee Maynor left her ten-month-old daughter and three-year-old son inside her sweltering car while she spent hours at a hair salon. The 25-year-old from Detroit even took a break from hair fashion to buy herself a refreshing soda and a snack. Not once did she check on her children suffocating in the car nearby. They, of course, died.

The big question bouncing around TV talk shows is whether she *intended* the death of her children, or whether she is merely devastatingly stupid. But what difference does it make? Maynor's intention was clearly *not* to take care of her children in even the most rudimentary way. This criminal negligence had exactly the same outcome as murder—and is there really a higher moral status to not giving the tiniest hoot about the life of one's children?

This horrific event would make the best case for mandating a license to get pregnant. Since that isn't possible, the least the state of Michigan can do is to lock Maynor up until she hits menopause.

agency's hoops. Health authorities need to take a more active role in providing the industry with incentives for testing these medicines.

Then there's the issue of market size. Who would buy a drug for smallpox? Presumably the government—it is already stockpiling vaccines. Wedded to their model of ring vaccination, however, health officials have refused to stock up on cidofovir. This leaves little impetus for companies to come up with something better.

—**Scott Gottlieb**, *a practicing physician, is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a staff writer for the* British Medical Journal.

RIGHT BEATS WRONG—AND THE LEFT

An historic shift has recently given the Right an unprecedented amount of political power around the globe. Though few have noticed, a political earthquake has dislodged the Left from power across Europe, in the U.S., and in Australia.

Consider continental Europe, long considered a permanent stronghold of the Left. The E.U. presidency is held by Spain's Prime Minister, Jose Maria Aznar, whose record of privatization, deregulation, and tax cuts has won his party two elections. In Italy, Silvio Berlusconi—who has pledged to trim taxes and dismantle his country's archaic labor laws—rules with a huge parliamentary majority. Even left-wing journalists believe he will stay in office for a full five-year term—a rarity in postwar Italy.

In France, conservatives triumphed massively over the ruling socialist coalition this spring. In Ireland, the center-right, which had traditionally ruled in a coalition with the center-left, recently won enough votes to have the freedom to rule alone. Conservative parties have also made gains in the Netherlands and in Portugal.

In perhaps the largest surprise of all, the center-right carried the May elections in the German state of Saxony. A long-time leftist stronghold in what used to be the communist East, the victory represents nothing less than a tectonic shift in European politics.

All of this points to a Europe dominated increasingly by a broad coalition of, essentially, free-market conservatives. Only in Tony Blair's Britain and in social democratic Sweden do politicians continue to hold out under the flag of the center-left—and both countries offer a particularly decaffeinated variety of that once strident brand.

Even parts of that socialist bastion of Scandinavia are crumbling. Norway recently elected a center-right government with a clear majority, shocking onlookers. In Iceland, the ruling center-right party enjoys strong support for its tax cuts. Or consider Denmark. Before coming to power as the current Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen wrote a powerful free-market book called *From Social State to Minimal State*.

In the United States of America, George W. Bush enjoys excellent approval ratings, and ideological soulmate John Howard remains highly popular in Australia.

The trend is clear: Right-leaning politicians are turning into a worldwide phenomenon.

—**Tim Evans** *is president of the Centre for the New Europe in Brussels. An earlier version of this piece was published in* The Australian.

SPEAK FOR YOURSELF

If Michael Newdow has his way, students in schools on the Left Coast may have a new Pledge of Allegiance when the next school year begins. Or no Pledge at all. The Sacramento atheist claims that his daughter experienced "discomfort" due to having to recite the Pledge, which has included the words "under God" since 1954. California's Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals apparently agreed that this was too much for a student to handle and on June 26 ruled the inclusion of the phrase in the Pledge un-Constitutional.

To date, it is unclear which is more ludicrous: a grown man with a law degree who used his eight-year-old daughter as an excuse to make a federal case out of his anti-religious preferences, or the two judges who ruled that "the mere fact that a pupil is required to listen every day to the statement, 'one nation under God,' has a *coercive* effect" (emphasis added).

Meanwhile, the girl's mother issued a public statement on July 11 declaring that she and her daughter are practicing Christians and that her daughter does indeed wish to recite the Pledge *with* the words "under God."

Sandra Banning—who has custody of her daughter—has hired an attorney to file a brief that would allow her to become

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a party in the case and thereby inform the court of her daughter's religious status.

The ruling is on hold for now. The U.S. Justice Department, the state of California, and Elk Grove Unified School District have all announced plans to appeal.

Many Americans are trusting (in God?) that the ruling will be overturned.

—**Laurel Cornell Robinson** *is a writer living in Maryland.*

From a letter to the editor by Margo House, a Michigan resident, in the July 22 issue of Newsweek:

"Every day in school in the 1940s, we recited the Pledge of Allegiance without saying 'under God,' and we considered ourselves patriotic. During World War II we were called upon to do more for our country than all the demagogues in government have called for since September 11.

"We drove 35 miles per hour to save gas, bought serial stamps for our war-bond books, managed ration books, knitted socks and scarves, saved lard, and planted victory gardens. We did all this with enthusiasm, and we didn't need the phrase 'under God' to compel us to help our country.

"When Congress inserted the phrase in 1954, I felt the Pledge's lovely flow was destroyed. I do not object to saying 'under God'; I just think it's unnecessary in affirming one's allegiance to our great country. For many years, those my age were moved to real, active patriotism without it."

Editors' note: For more on the Pledge controversy, see WORKING LUNCH with Walter Berns on p. 50.

WHY GUNS MATTER

During the tense weeks that followed Election Night 2000, many Americans became familiar with the color-coded map dividing their country into patches of red and blue. Many publications, including *TAE* (see March 2002), have described the cultural differences between the primarily coastal pockets that supported Gore and the expanses of Bush territory in between. But if column inches and word counts are any indicator, few commentators have investigated the underlying philosophical difference between Blue and Red America. They might start by examining the debate over gun control.

Gun-control advocates frequently argue that the Second Amendment is "obsolete," that in our era the government can fulfill all our law-enforcement needs. So, how well does the government take care of Blue America? According to the FBI, Gore-leaning states reported one crime for every 27 residents in 2000. The situation is on the mend, but there are still plenty of holes in the Left's security blanket.

Blue America's overconfidence exemplifies the elitism and insularity that characterize its culture in general. Blue America forgets that not everyone lives in cities with beat cops or in suburbs with ample law-enforcement budgets. From my east Tennessee home, the nearest police station is a good 20-minute drive away. Add the time it takes to process a 911 call and locate the offender, and it becomes evident that if my family did not own guns, criminals could wreak havoc with impunity. Apparently my situation is not unique: In Red America, those 1-in-27 odds rise to 1 in 22. Out here, the arm of the law just isn't long enough, and even liberals such as Mississippi's Mike Espy know that big government can't "go it alone" against criminals who will respect new anti-gun statues no more than the laws they break already.

Blue America holds not only that the government is a competent agent on our behalf, but also that in forming that government we alienated our own right to fend for ourselves. Since the government is capable of defending us, it does no wrong by disarming the public. Such reasoning ignores the fact that the right to bear arms helps ensure not only our current safety but our future liberty as well.

Legal scholars disagree on whether the Second Amendment merely permits states to maintain defense forces or also allows individuals to arm themselves. Yet no matter which position is correct, the goal is the same: to check the law's enforcers as well as its violators.

This is why Red America values the Second Amendment so highly. Red America still evaluates the political sphere

WARNING: YOU MAY NOT BE ABLE TO SLEEP AFTER READING THIS

We all know that arachnophobia is the fear of spiders; claustrophia, the fear of being in confined spaces; and agoraphobia, the fear of open spaces. But, as is evident from Time.com's Web site, the list of well-defined human fears is virtually endless. Following are *TAE*'s Top Ten picks (from hundreds):

10) Alektorophobia: fear of chickens
9) Alliumphobia: fear of garlic
8) Allodoxaphobia: fear of opinions
7) Arachibutyrophobia: fear of peanut butter sticking to roof of mouth
6) Coulrophobia: fear of clowns
5) Dikephobia: fear of justice
4) Geniophobia: fear of chins
3) Lachanophobia: fear of vegetables
2) Phobophobia: fear of...what else...phobias

and the Number One most terrifying phobia of all time: Zemmiphobia: fear of...what else...the great mole rat.

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from a moral perspective: Ultimately, the role of government is not to create law but to obey it. And when government deviates from its ethical mandate, citizens have a duty to restore it to its rightful place. Red America realizes that a disarmed citizenry will be unable to stand up for what is right when its government does wrong.

Blue America has abandoned this moral point of view, instead evaluating conflicts in terms of "interests." It further relinquishes critical evaluation of those interests, assuming that all are equally worthy of satisfaction. Blue America views government not as an enforcer of duties and rights but as a facilitator of individuals' personal ends, appealing for justification not to any categorical moral code but to entirely pragmatic concerns.

This is why the Second Amendment is so bothersome to Blue America. The right to bear arms is the right to take a stand, to act on the belief that you are right and someone else is wrong, and as such it is a threat to the amoral collectivism that the New Left embodies. For it is our guarantee—our only guarantee—that we may transform our moral beliefs into action.

—**Ned Andrews** *is a* TAE *intern. He does not bring guns to the office.*

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AIDING AIDS

In June, President Bush announced he would make $500 million available to provide anti-viral drugs, medical staff training, and preventive care to pregnant women in African and Caribbean nations. The goal: Preventing these women from passing HIV to their babies when they are born. "Medical science gives us the power to save these young lives. Conscience demands we do so," Bush said.

Ironically, around the same time, at a reproductive-medicine conference in Vienna, fertility specialists lauded as "progress" a development making it *easier* for HIV-positive patients to conceive. As UPI reported, a Swiss doctor presented the results of his survey of 160 heterosexual couples with one infected partner. Fifty-three percent of the couples partner expressed a desire to conceive naturally, and 24 percent admitted to not using condoms regularly.

In the United States alone, according to the Centers for Disease Control, there are an estimated 900,000 people infected with HIV. More than half are between ages 20 and 39, peak reproductive years. Although fertility specialists are generally reluctant to encourage HIV patients to reproduce, the law, notes Janice Copeland of the Genesis Fertility Center in Vancouver, is on the side of the patients.

In *Bragdon v. Abbott* in 1998, the Supreme Court declared the existence of a right to reproduce. In coming years, that ruling might encourage a number of lawsuits against fertility clinics that discourage HIV patients from having kids—especially if activists want to make an issue of it.

Ms. Copeland claims that for an HIV-positive woman on an aggressive anti-retroviral therapy, an elective Cesarean section can reduce the risk of infection to as little as 2 percent. On the male side, a technique of separating the sperm from the virus is currently being tested at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston. There's no research that backs up or knocks down Copeland's 2 percent claim.

But does it really matter? Actively encouraging people with deadly perinatally transmissible illnesses to become pregnant is a reckless policy. Just take a look at the children who will be receiving part of that $500 million to see why.

—**Kathryn Jean Lopez** *is an editor at* National Review.

DANGEROUS PRISON CONVERSIONS?

Prison Fellowship Ministries founder Chuck Colson is concerned about outreach to prisoners by radical Muslims. "Alienated, disenfranchised people are prime targets for radical Islamists who preach a religion of violence," Colson wrote in the *Wall Street Journal.* "Al Qaeda training manuals specifically identify America's prisoners as candidates for conversion" because they may harbor hostility toward their government.

Colson has caught some flak from groups like the National Islamic Prison Foundation, which works to convert prisoners to Islam. Madhi Bray, the leader of the group, claimed that to his

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knowledge no recruiting of terrorists was going on in prisons. While Muslim groups in American prisons have, so far, had a strong black-nationalist (not Wahabi) bent, shoe bomber Richard Reid did convert to Islam in a British prison.

As Wendy Murray Zoba points out in *Christianity Today*, "Islam is gaining most of its U.S. converts in prisons and on university campuses." The danger, as Colson says, lies in the radical brand of Islam that tends to be popular among prisoners—the kind that appeals to their resentment and desire for revenge against society.

"When I did a radio broadcast about the dangers of radical Islam in the prisons," Colson wrote, "I heard from moderate Muslims urging me to keep publicizing the issue." As Colson says, "Muslims themselves recognize the danger." Shouldn't others too?

—Gina Dalfonzo *is editor of* BreakPoint Online *at The Wilberforce Forum, a division of Prison Fellowship Ministries.*

GOTTI GLORIFICATION: GODAWFUL

John Gotti, a racketeer, murderer, and former head of the Gambino crime family, died in federal prison on June 10. Gotti's quick wit, fancy clothes, and swagger captivated New York in the 1980s and early '90s as he beat the rap three times. He was right out of central casting.

The "Dapper Don" was waked in an elaborate coffin, surrounded by gaudy floral arrangements representing his passions: horse racing, cigars, poker, and the New York Yankees. David Letterman could have had a field day with Top Ten other Gotti funeral wreaths.

Because of his infamous life, the *Capo di tutti capi* was denied a funeral by the Catholic Church. But Gotti's infamy never seemed to dawn much on his "family," or the multitude of admirers who showed up at his tacky funeral procession.

One mourner in Queens observed, "What he did, that was his business. That was none of our business. In this neighborhood, he did nothing but good." A letter writer to *Newsday* said, "Rest in peace, John. You will always be a hero to your family, your friends, and many others who admired and respected you for all of the good things you did." And *New York Post* columnist Steve Dunleavy, attending Gotti's wake, placed a pink carnation in a vase and touched Gotti's coffin out of respect.

There are times when you want to take people like this, shake them, smack them in the face and say, "What the hell is the matter with you?!" But it would probably do no good: These are the same people who root for Joey Buttafuoco on the Fox network's "Celebrity Boxing."

—Matthew Carolan *is a columnist for* Newsday.

MARRIAGE: JUST SAY YES

Men aren't known for being great communicators, but recently some of them opened up. During focus-group discussions conducted by The National Marriage Project, men shared in detail why they're in no hurry to marry. The Project's report of these discussions, "The State of Our Unions 2002," lists the top reasons why men won't commit.

Reason Number One—yep, you guessed it: Men can easily get sex without marriage. To their own disadvantage, women have made it too easy for men to exploit them as sex objects. As one of the men remarked, "If a girl wants it on the first night we go out, I definitely lose respect for her, 'cause she's probably doing it with someone else." Some of the others admitted it's up to the woman "to hold them in check" because "we'll always push for more."

Reason Number Two: Men can move in with a woman and enjoy a pseudo-wife without tying the knot. One benefit of cohabitation, according to the men in the study, is that they can determine compatibility for potential future marriage. But a 1992 study found that couples who lived together before marriage were 46 percent more likely to divorce than married couples who did not first cohabit. And if they stay together, they are more likely to have more conflict within their marriages.

Many 30-something women hear the urgent ticking of their biological clocks and see their marriage prospects grow fewer and fewer. As the report states, without any pressure to marry, "boys can remain boys indefinitely." Unable to find a husband, women may decide to have a child on their own. In 2000, 1.35 million children were born out of wedlock—the highest number reported to date.

Still, nearly all Americans say that having a good marriage is one of their most important goals in life. Certainly, marriage isn't always easy, and it involves sacrifice. But it can also bring genuine happiness and fulfillment.

Contrary to popular wisdom, marriage is *not* just a piece of paper or a lifestyle choice. It's what's best for individual men, women, and children—and, yes, it's the basic building block of our society.

—Bridget Maher *is a marriage and family policy analyst at the Family Research Council.*

"IT DON'T MATTER IF YOU'RE BLACK OR WHITE"

So sang Michael Jackson a few years ago. Of course, that's when the self-proclaimed King of Pop's record sales where higher. Now, he whines that Tommy Mottola, chairman of Sony Music, Jackson's record label, is a "very, very devilish" racist, and clearly to blame for the sales slump. Mr. Jackson should heed the advice of one of his biggest hits and—beat it.

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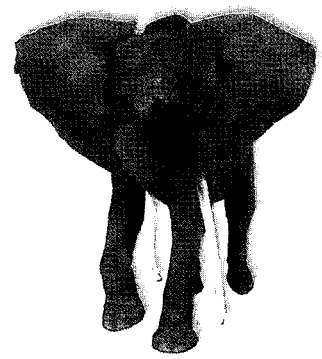
Politico

Grover Norquist



Bush's White Elephant

President Bush's approval rating has remained above 70 percent for ten months. Far from being an asset, these approval ratings are a liability that has hurt his agenda.

Immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Democrats feared and Republicans hoped that Mr. Bush's approval ratings—which jumped from 57 percent to 90 percent—would create political capital that would help Bush advance his legislative agenda and elect more Republicans.

Both Republican hopes and Democratic fears went unfulfilled. On November 6, only 55 days after September 11, the GOP lost control of the governors' mansions in Virginia and New Jersey. President Bush made no progress on legislative priorities such as reforming Mexican immigration and giving Americans the option of investing part of their Social Security taxes. A dozen Congressional leadership staff members have told me that the President's high approval ratings have not helped him pass any important bills.

Since September 11, George W. Bush has agreed to federalize tens of thousands of airport screeners, approved Senator John McCain's campaign reform legislation, and signed the most expensive farm bill in U.S. history. Why?

Back when the President had an approval rating below 60 percent, he rammed through a $1.3 trillion tax cut, made the Senate approve John Ashcroft as attorney general, pulled the United States out of the Kyoto Treaty, and gave notice that the U.S. would leave the ABM treaty in order to build a missile defense system. Why was President Bush more successful in pushing his agenda and standing up to his critics when his approval rating was in the 50s than when it was in the 80s?

Some members of Congress argue that the President has failed to "spend" his political capital. But this misses the point that the difference between 55 percent and 75 percent approval is not political capital that can be spent. President Bush has demanded that the Senate approve more of his nominated judges. It hasn't. The Senate has stalled for more than eight months on Trade Promotion Authority and dragged its feet on the President's defense bill.

In old Siam, now Thailand, a rare white elephant was a liability because, while it was a great honor to receive one as a gift from the king, it could not be put to work like a regular elephant.

So too, the inflated personal approval ratings have actually hurt the Bush administration. Not all Americans among the 75 percent who approve of Bush as President now plan to vote for him or his party this November or in 2004. But Bush really is a strong candidate: He will win the next election in a landslide with 55 to 50 percent of the vote, after most Americans return to their partisan homes.

Many Americans endorse his handling of the war on terrorism, but plan to give their votes to the Democrats because they disagree with him on abortion, government spending, or the environment.

In the wake of the attacks, President Bush did not campaign for the GOP candidates in Virginia and New Jersey. To do so would have brought him down from the Mount Olympus of consensus politics to the daily partisan bickering that would drive down his approval ratings. A veto of federal control of airport screeners would have led some people to tell the pollsters they no longer approve of the President.

Not all Americans among the 75 percent who approve of Bush as President now plan to vote for him.

Back in the spring of 2001, President Bush could hit cherished Democratic Party interests hard without dipping in the polls because he wouldn't lose liberal support; at that time liberals weren't telling pollsters they supported him. Post 9/11 any ideological tussle results in a drop in recorded support toward normal levels. No adviser wants to be in the room when the President drops from 75 percent to 65 percent in one week.

Bush's "political capital" *cannot* be spent. It *will* evaporate. Like a white elephant, the inflated Presidential approval ratings are a wonderful honor, a thing of beauty, but without practical value. They are a sterile and expensive liability that cannot even be given away.

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James Glassman

Liberate the Dividend

Back in March, I testified before a House committee that was looking for ways to prevent Enron-style disasters. Don't bother with more nitpicking accounting rules or changes in pension regulations, I told the members.

Instead, get tough on enforcing the anti-fraud laws already on the books. And do one more thing: End the double-taxation of dividends.

Panel members were baffled, but the connection is really simple. Small investors can't plow through thousands of pages of SEC filings and dozens of footnotes in quarterly statements to determine how a company is really performing. But they can focus on a single number that distills all that information—the dividend.

A dividend is the most transparent and accurate reflection of how a company is doing. You can't easily fudge it because it's real cash out the door, not an accounting entry. And, since companies are extremely reluctant to reduce their dividends, it tends to be a reliable, conservative manifestation of long-term financial health.

Unfortunately, dividends are rapidly disappearing, and the main culprit is the tax code. Making dividends visible would go a long way toward increasing trust in financial reporting and bringing more Americans into the stock market.

A dividend is a distribution of profits that a company makes to its shareholders, typically every three months. A firm might have earnings of $4 million after taxes in a quarter. It keeps $3 million to reinvest in the company or keep in the bank. It sends the remaining $1 million to its investors. If there are 1 million shares outstanding, then each share is assigned a one-dollar dividend.

But here is where it gets tricky: Dividends are again taxed as ordinary income—currently at a top federal rate of about 39 percent, plus state taxes. Consider Maytag, the third-largest appliance maker in the U.S. It earned $2.64 per share last year. The shareholders got just 43 cents of that; governments took $1.16 in taxes; the company kept $1.05 for capital investments or to put in the bank. Maytag's dividend, before all taxes, was $1.07. The tax collectors got three-fifths of the dividend.

Throughout most of stock-market history, the typical company distributed a little more than half its annual profits to shareholders. In the 1940s, the average stock in the benchmark Standard & Poor's 500 index paid a dividend that amounted to 5.9 percent of its price. That yield, as it's called, has consistently declined. In 2000, it was just 1.1 percent —the lowest number since statistics were first collected in 1825.

But as double taxation eroded investors' incentives to demand decent dividends, the payout ratio dropped. Of course, one reason for falling yields is rising prices (a yield is the amount of the dividend divided by the price, so if the value of the stock increases, the yield decreases).

Still, nine tenths of the drop in yields among the 30 Dow Jones Industrial stocks between 1992 and 2000 can be explained by the falling payout ratio, and that ratio is, in large measure, a function of the tax code.

The obvious solution is to exempt dividends from taxes at the shareholder level. If the government needs to make up the lost revenue, it can increase corporate taxes (a move I do not advocate). With this simple change, firms could make their own rational economic choices.

My guess is that shareholders would demand higher dividends. The cash would go to them, and they could decide how best to deploy it, to the ultimate benefit of the economy—a cogent argument made recently by Steve Stein in *Policy Review*.

But my case is much simpler. End double taxation so that investors can clear away the smokescreen and see what's really happening in the companies they own, or ones they may want to own. In 2000, a year of record corporate profits, one fourth of all the companies in the S&P index paid no dividends at all—the highest proportion in history.

By double-taxing dividends, the state gives unscrupulous executives an excuse for hoarding cash and obscuring their companies' actual condition.

Forget changing generally accepted accounting principles or passing arcane auditor-independence regulations.

Instead, liberate the dividend!

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"Live" with TAE

As a leader in higher education, it's hard to match his record. He's a dedicated Democrat and self-described liberal who fights for high standards, creates controversy, and clashes with the Left. Meet…

John Silber

In over 30 years of leading Boston University—25 as president, the last six as chancellor, and, since early July, also as acting president—John Silber has boosted what had been a big but undistinguished commuter school into the upper echelon of American higher education.

At a glance, his managerial style seems a mass of contradictions: He is detail-oriented enough to write letters to students reprimanding them for stealing silverware from dining halls, yet visionary enough to re-create his institution in ways that shape the national debate on issues ranging from core curricula to declining educational standards. In 1990, he won the Democratic nomination for governor of Massachusetts and narrowly lost the general election to Republican William Weld. (Weld later appointed Silber to head the state's Board of Education.)

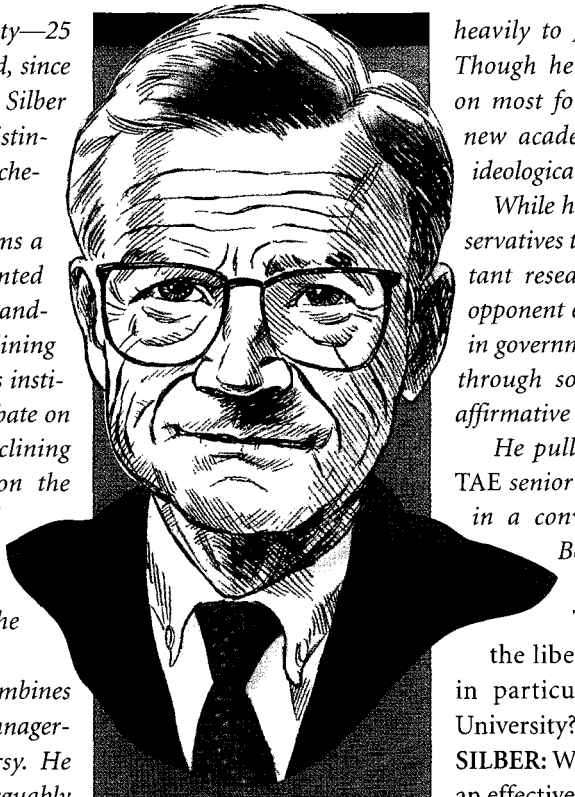
A scholar of Immanuel Kant, Silber combines prodigious scholarly output with steely managerial skills and a penchant for controversy. He helped create Operation Head Start —arguably the Great Society's most successful legacy—and served as dean of the University of Texas's College of Arts and Sciences before assuming BU's presidency in 1971.

At BU he has frequently quarreled with the University's faculty and clashed with just about every radical leftist on campus. Silber has also raised enormous amounts of money (the University's endowment, $18 million when he arrived, now stands at over $600 million), recruited a bevy of distinguished scholars, and improved just about every one of the University's programs.

A die-hard Democrat, he voted for George W. Bush in the last election ("I don't like robots," he says of Al Gore) and Ronald Reagan in 1980. But he also supported Bill Clinton—twice (holding his nose the second time)—and contributed heavily to Jimmy Carter's campaign in 1976. Though he is pro-life, staunchly conservative on most foreign policy issues, and scornful of new academic trends and fads, Silber defies ideological labels.

While he's probably done more to please conservatives than the president of any other important research university, Silber is an ardent opponent of the death penalty, a strong believer in government's ability to improve citizens' lives through social spending, and a supporter of affirmative action.

He pulled no punches when he spoke with TAE senior editor Eli Lehrer at his stately office in a converted mansion on the campus of Boston University.



Let's face the facts: Most college presidents are interested in the perks of the job, not in its substance.

TAE: How does your background in the liberal arts in general and philosophy in particular affect the way you lead the University?

SILBER: Well, it doesn't explain my ability to be an effective college president, because that takes street smarts. For me, street smarts came from growing up during the Depression. I had to know how to balance a budget. When I was in graduate school, making $140 a month, I kept a journal of every expenditure: 49 cents for a pound of hamburger meat; 12 cents for a loaf of bread. We saved money every month. That is what got me used to the notion that budgets, and economics, are important.

When it comes to the University itself, however, the study of philosophy is absolutely critical because you have to ask, "What are you trying to convey to these students?"

TAE: So what should a university stand for? What should it try to do?

SILBER: People live for the arts, religion, and philosophy. What every human being really

Illustration by Sam Torode

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seeks is some sense of the meaning of life. And there ought to be a way in which the university assists these students in finding that meaning.

You can't find the meaning of life without figuring out who you are yourself and how you fit into a universe you did not create. I think that hundredth Psalm is of very great importance. The Scriptures say: "It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves; we are His people, and the sheep of His pasture."

You don't have to be religious in order to get its importance. A secularist, if he's honest, doesn't act like Carl Sagan and say, "Scientists have the answer to the origin of the universe." I think a university worthy of its salt should imbue the students who attend it with philosophical insight, and help them understand that good and bad are not merely subjective terms for things we like or dislike.

A university should also be a meritocracy. We're looking for what John Adams and Thomas Jefferson talked about: a natural aristocracy of virtue and talent. We're not looking for people of average ability. We're not looking for people who are pretty good. We're looking for people of distinguished intellect and sound character. That is what is essential to the life of a real university.

TAE: The philosopher Leo Strauss wrote that "liberal education is concerned with the souls of men and, therefore, has little or no use for machines." Boston University, like every other major university, has a lot of students that study engineering, communications, and other fields that emphasize machines.

Is this emphasis on technology, which only seems to be growing in higher education, inconsistent with a liberal arts education?

SILBER: I don't think so. Strauss' view is too narrow. Would he consider it all right to include some knowledge of music in a liberal education? Isn't having a heightened sensibility on musical matters part of a liberal education? How are you going to do that without an instrument? A violin is an instrument just as surely as a computer is. There's nothing inhuman or illiberal about scientific research.

The computer can facilitate liberal knowledge. It beats the hell out of a crow quill when it comes to writing. I don't think there's any dichotomy between liberal education and the

What every human being really seeks is some sense of the meaning of life. And there ought to be a way in which the university assists these students in finding that meaning.

vocational usefulness of one's education. There was a time, say 75 years ago, where a person with a liberal arts education might have had difficulty getting a job, but that's long since ceased to be the case.

There is an economic advantage in knowledge and an economic advantage in intellectual competence. When I was young, a physicist earned about the same amount as a theologian. A mathematician didn't earn any more than a professor of English, because there wasn't any market value for mathematicians and physicists and chemists.

TAE: So, was the British academic C.P. Snow wrong when he said that two different, sometimes antagonistic, cultures—humanities and the sciences—were emerging in the academy?

SILBER: I don't think he was exactly wrong, but I think he was wrong in saying they were of equal value. If you took from a Norseman his sagas and left him with algebra, he'd be worse off. I think that philosophical orientation, which gives you some sense of the meaning of your own life and the nature of the universe in which you live, takes primacy over other issues.

People have to be grounded in something real. I can't tell you how many students have said to me, "I want to be a writer." I ask such students questions like: "What do you write?" "How much do you write?" "Do you keep a notebook?" and "Are you writing every day?"

About seven times out of ten a student who says he wants to be a writer doesn't keep a notebook. Days go by in which he doesn't write. And I say, "The reason I know you're not going to be a writer, is because you're not a writer." Writers write.

TAE: A recent article in the *Boston Globe* gave the impression that you might leave BU in the near future after a new president is named. What sort of projects do you hope to work on?

SILBER: I'll probably never leave BU. I will leave the chancellorship, unless the person who is appointed president pretty well begs me to stay. I do lots of things. I'm a sculptor among other things. I just finished a *bas relief* of Elie Weisel. I also have three books in progress. One is on education reform and the obstacles it faces. Another is a philosophical treatise on freedom and responsibility, which is almost half done. A third is simply the editing of a book on

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Kant, which was finished before I came to the University 30 years ago, and then became a casualty of a fire that occurred in my home. It burned it all around the edges and took out all the footnotes. So I had this lovely job of trying to recreate all the footnotes, which is no fun.

TAE: There have been a handful of politicians who have recently run for office after a stint leading a university; but no one besides you comes to mind who has run for political office after an extended career as a university president.

University presidents used to be much more engaged in politics. Is it a problem that university presidents no longer care much for politics?

SILBER: No, I don't think it's a problem. I don't think there's anything about being a college president that necessarily qualifies you to be a good public servant. I just don't see why there should be many more running for office. I don't regard that as the obligation, nor as the proper role of college presidents.

There's nothing wrong with it, but I don't think there's anything mandatory about it either. Let's face the facts: Most college presidents are interested in the perks of the job, not in its substance.

TAE: What about university presidents' disengagement from public life? There are rather few who try to remain public intellectuals while serving as presidents.

SILBER: To begin with, how do you define an intellectual? The best definition I've ever heard of an intellectual is one by Professor Donald Carnie-Ross at Boston University. He has said, "An intellectual is a person who has a commanding knowledge of a field that's really none of his business as a professional."

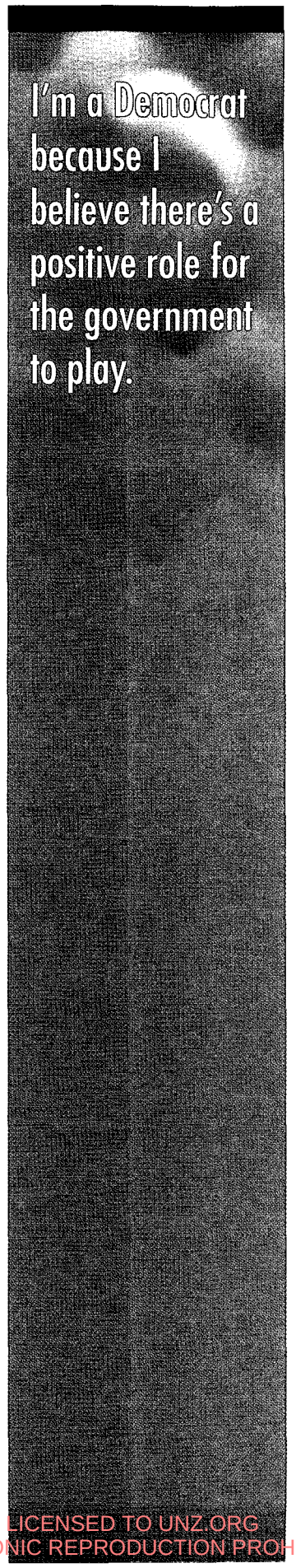
If a doctor understands medicine, that does not make him an intellectual. If a lawyer knows something about law, that just makes him a lawyer, it doesn't make him an intellectual.

But if a lawyer knows a great deal about literature, or if an insurance man like Wallace Stevens knows a great deal about poetry, that's a ticket to being an intellectual.

There are a lot of college presidents who simply are not intellectuals.

TAE: Are you still a member of the Democratic Party?

SILBER: Yes I am. If you ask why, it's because I do believe there's a positive role for the government to play. I think that after September 11 even a large number of Republicans discovered that there's a positive role for government. Deregulation has done some terrible things in this country.



I feel about the Democratic Party the way Churchill felt about democracy: I'd say the party's no good except when you consider the alternatives. I'm not happy with the leadership of the Democratic Party.

TAE: Since Bill Clinton's first campaign for President, the Democratic Party has dropped its opposition to the death penalty and, in fact, has worked to expand it. You've long been a staunch opponent of the death penalty. Why do you continue to oppose it?

SILBER: I don't think the enactment of the death penalty is immoral *per se*. I believe some people have committed crimes for which they deserve to die. The problem is this: Can you make a system that calls for capital punishment work reasonably, fairly, and justly?

First of all, you don't want to execute the innocent, and we know that that happens with considerable frequency. There are about 75,000 capital crimes committed every year in the United States. If we're prepared to execute 75,000 people every year, then you might say, "Well, maybe capital punishment is feasible." It certainly would reduce prison costs. It would be a great economic advantage to simply dispatch murderers.

But if we did, we would have something like 150 percent of the American deaths of the Vietnam War every single year just by practicing capital punishment. Nobody's going to do that. Only a handful of people will be picked out to execute. That handful are going be predominantly blacks, Hispanics, and the poor.

When I was at the University of Texas, I visited Hunstville Prison and examined the records of people on death row there. I found that every single person on death row had had inadequate legal counsel. Most of the lawyers had said nothing more in the final summation than: "We presented our evidence and it would be most regrettable if you were to kill this man because it's just wrong to kill a human being."

There are lots of ways of improving the situation. You don't need the death penalty in order to be safe. Just look at the difference

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between the Army and the Navy. The Army has used the death penalty. The Navy hasn't used it since 1848, and the discipline in the Navy is quite adequate.

TAE: Would you ever consider running for elective office again?

SILBER: I'm getting a little long in the tooth for that.

TAE: What are your thoughts on affirmative action in college admissions?

SILBER: That is one reason why I'm a Democrat. I really believe in affirmative action. I don't believe in quotas. You ask individual questions about individual applicants.

If a young black or Hispanic student has scored well on the SAT, despite the fact that he's attended a third-rate high school, and despite the fact that he comes from a very modest socioeconomic background, I give him bonus points on the SAT. If he scores say 1,000 on the SAT, I figure he is probably the equivalent of somebody who scored 1,200 and has a fortunate background.

TAE: There's significant evidence that college faculties in general tilt very much to the left. Why do you think this is so?

SILBER: Well, Marxism had a great appeal to intellectuals. It appeals to one's sense of justice. And as long as that is seen to be working and successful, people who didn't look at all of the evidence could ignore the human price that was paid for the so-called "successes" of Stalin and Lenin. It was easy to be romantic about it.

As fine an observer as Lincoln Steffens visited Russia in the '30s and said, "I saw the future and it works." He was no fool. He was captured by the romance of an effort to give everybody equality of opportunity.

The romance of that ideal had a lot of appeal, and people who go into universities are highly idealistic people.

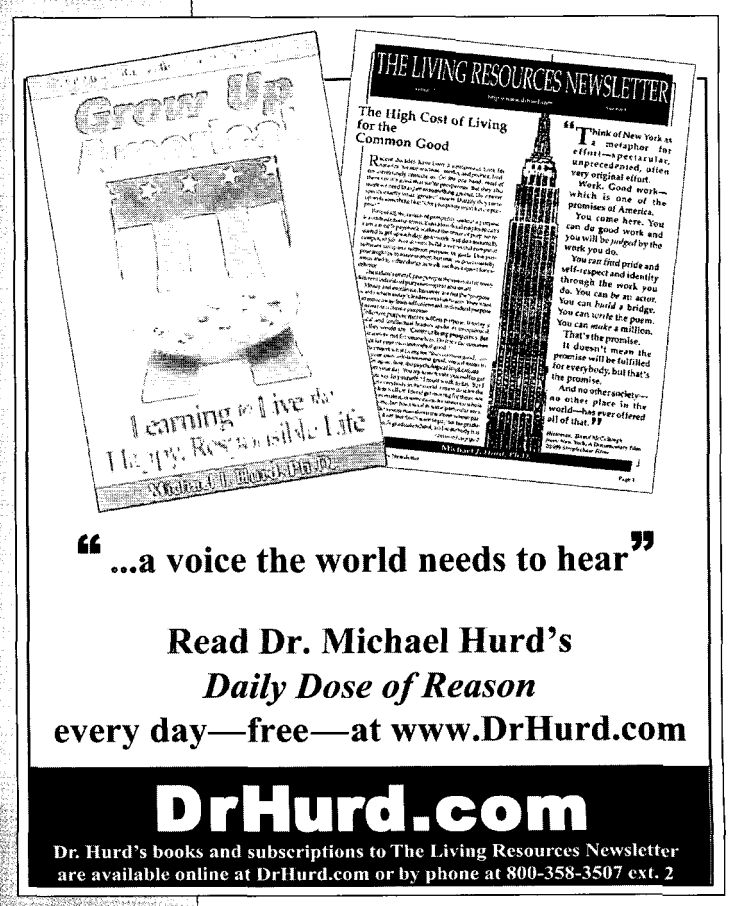
TAE: Do you think that anything can be done to improve the ideological balance of college faculties?

SILBER: I think the balance will correct itself. September 11 corrected a lot of things. There were intellectuals at Yale and elsewhere who were trying to make it appear that somehow September 11 can be explained by the inequities of the United States. But they got made into mincemeat. I think it's a natural corrective process. I don't think there's a great tilt in the schools of medicine or in the schools of dentistry or in the schools of business.

I would think that there are more Democrats on the faculty of Boston University than Republicans, but there's no huge tilt here.

If you go the way of a school that says "conservatives are advised not to register for this course," then you've ceased to be a university in any meaningful sense of the word. You've bought ideology hook, line, and sinker.

The romance of the Marxist ideal of justice had a lot of appeal, and people who enter universities are highly idealistic people.



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The Shame of America's One-Party Campuses

In most sectors of American life—corporations, nonprofits, government agencies, churches, unions, voluntary organizations, the military, you name it—you will find ample numbers of both conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats, people of the Right and people of the Left.

There is one important place, however, where this basic parity doesn't hold, where the Right/Left balance is grossly skewed: among the ranks of faculty at colleges and universities.

Today's colleges and universities are *not*, to use the current buzzword, "diverse" places. Quite the opposite: They are virtual one-party states, ideological monopolies, badly unbalanced ecosystems. They are utterly flightless birds with only one wing to flap. They do not, when it comes to political and cultural ideas, look like America.

The graphs that follow document the harsh ideological imbalances that exist on virtually all college campuses today. These results were painstakingly tabulated for us (in several cases with help from the Center for the Study of Popular Culture) by student volunteers who visited the Board of Elections in the local jurisdiction where each college or university is located. Public voter registration records were cross-referenced with faculty rosters, and the findings were compiled.

Some professors could not be located in voter registers, a certain number were not registered in any party, and a few were registered to a party that could not be classified ideologically. But a great many had signed themselves up as members of an ideologically identifiable political faction.

Those who registered themselves in either the Democratic, Green, or Working Families Party we classified as members of a party of the Left—they are coded "L" in red in the results below.

Those registered in either the Republican or Libertarian Party we classified as members of a party of the Right—they are coded "R" in blue in the results below.

Lest critics accuse us of cherry-picking only fringe disciplines, we have stuck mostly to major, uncontroversial, and socially significant fields of study. And we have carefully arrayed the data by department. (Exact titles of departments vary by school; we have standardized to the most common terminology.)

Colleges like to characterize themselves as wide-open places where every thought can be thought, where any opinion can be held, where all ideals and principles may be pursued freely. The demonstrable reality, however, is that you will find a much wider—and freer—cross-section of human reasoning and conviction in the aisles of any grocery store or city bus.

In truth, colleges are now hostile environments for economic and cultural conservatives. Only a comparatively narrow spectrum of views is really welcome on campus. If you stray from the liberal consensus you will soon find yourself without allies, without tenure, and eventually without a position.

Don't take our word for it; consult the data on the following pages—they speak for themselves. —KZ

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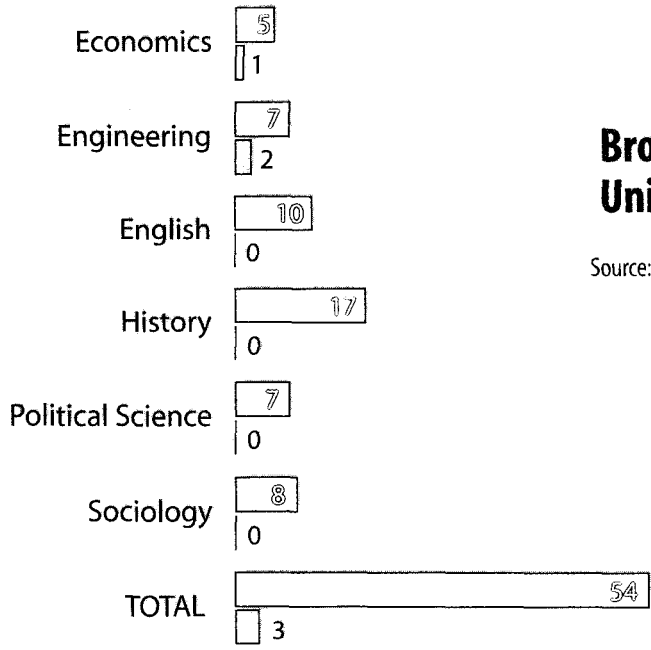
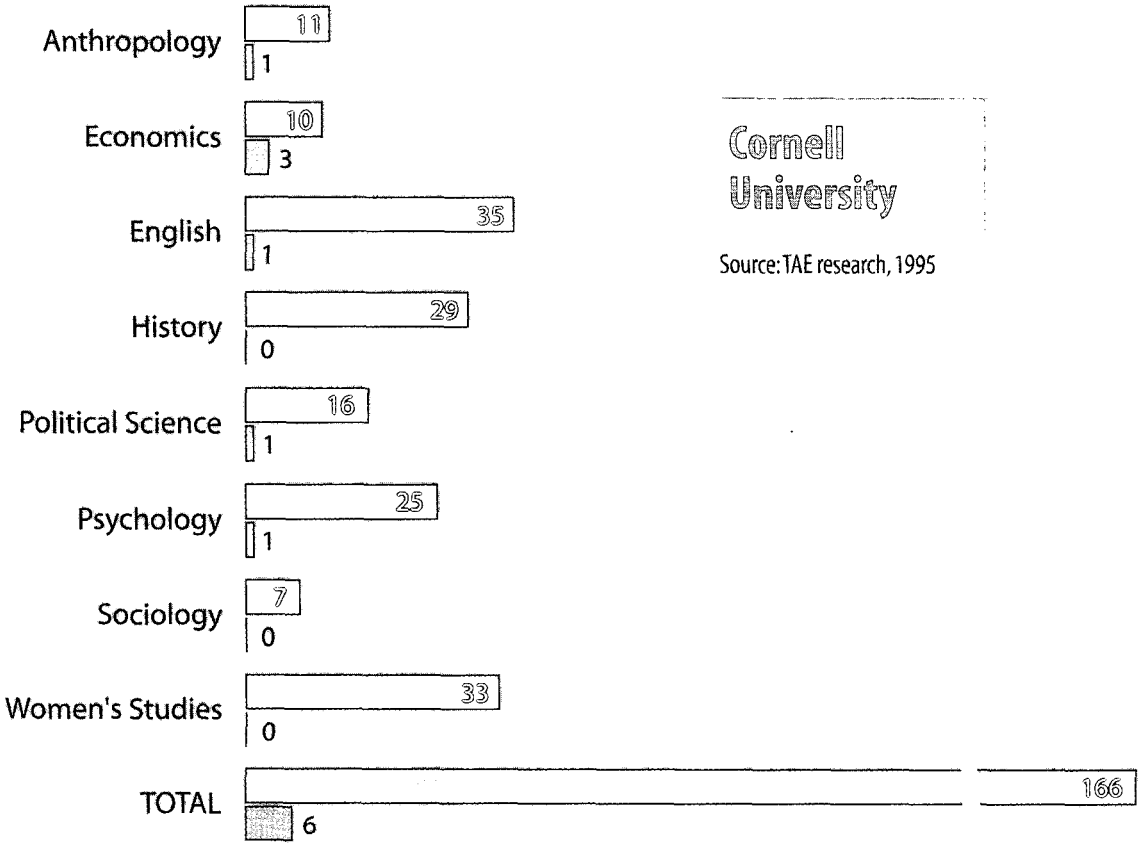
Political party enrollments of professors
as listed in local voter registration records

KEY: L = professors registered in a party of the Left R = professors registered in a party of the Right



Brown University

Source: TAE research, 2001



Cornell University

Source: TAE research, 1995

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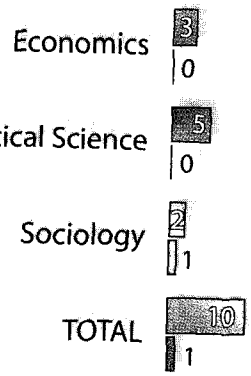
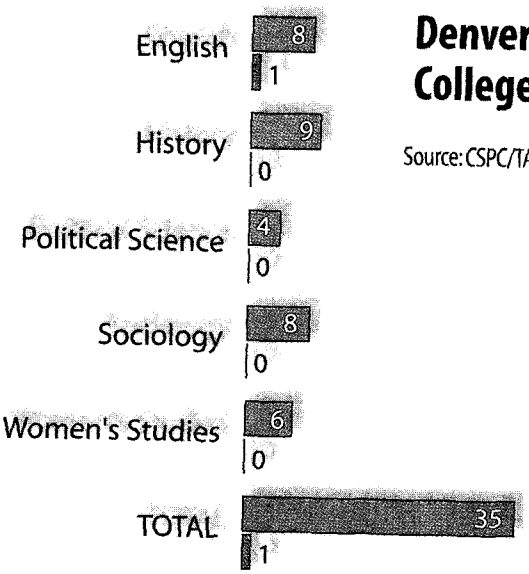
-continued- **Political party enrollments of professors as listed in local voter registration records**

KEY: L = professors registered in a party of the Left R = professors registered in a party of the Right



Davidson College

Source: TAE research, 2001

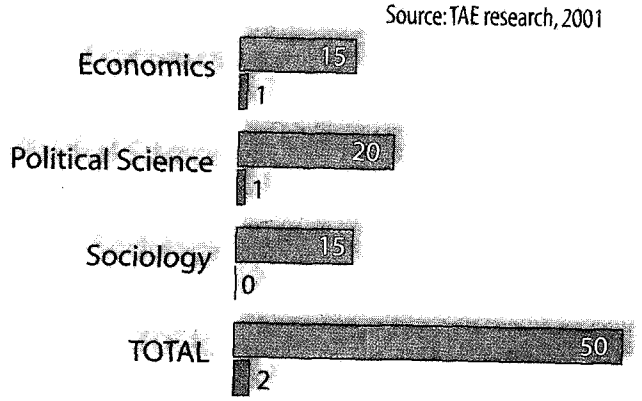


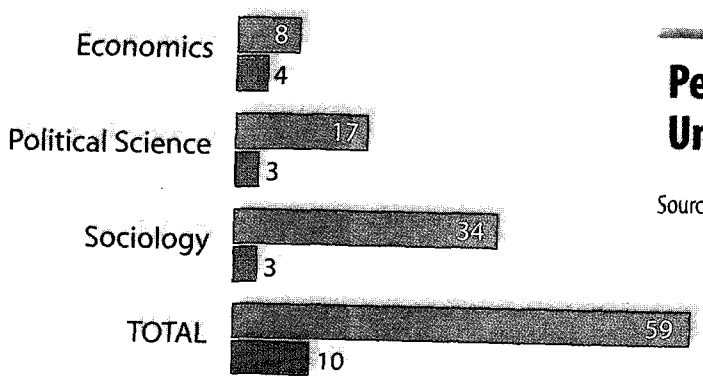
Denver College

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001

Harvard University

Source: TAE research, 2001





Penn State University

Source: TAE research, 2001

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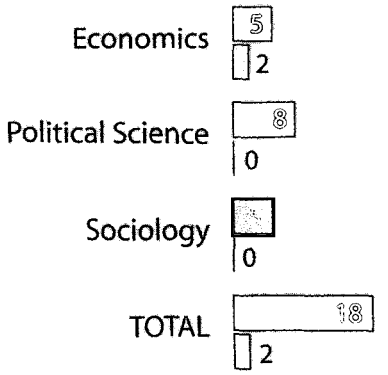
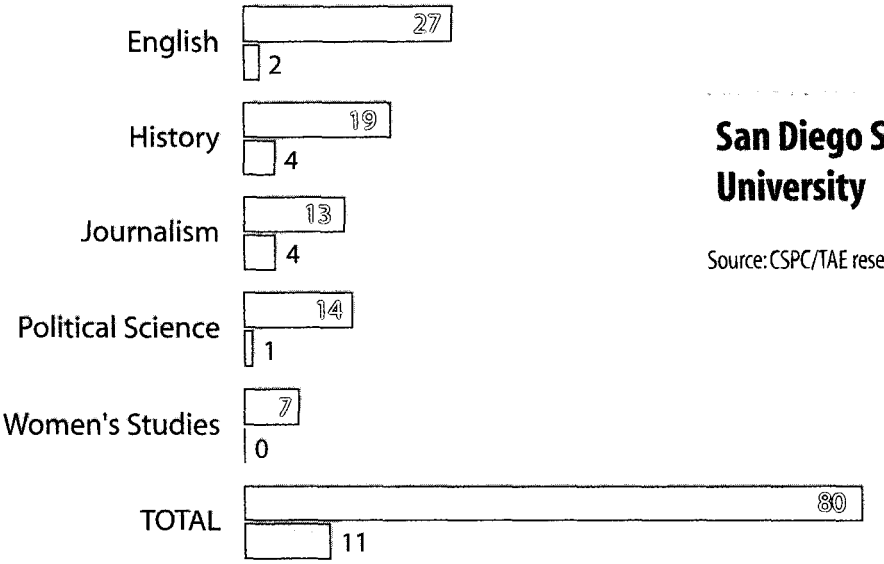


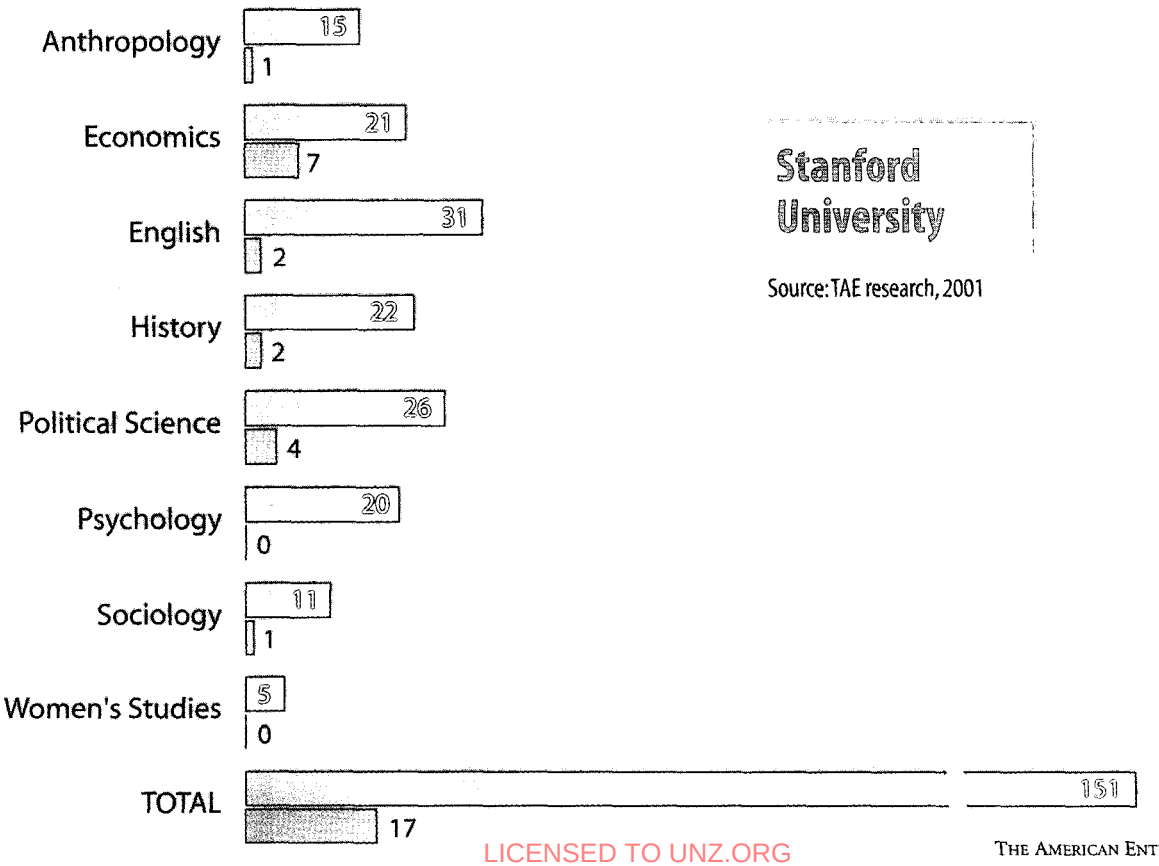
Pomona College

Source: TAE research, 2001



San Diego State University

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001



Stanford University

Source: TAE research, 2001

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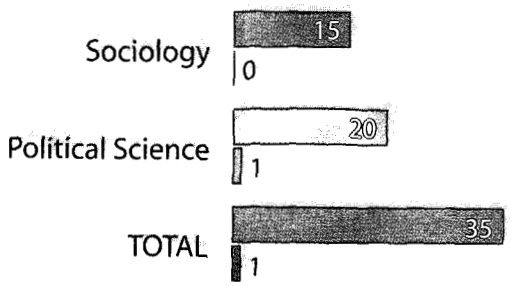
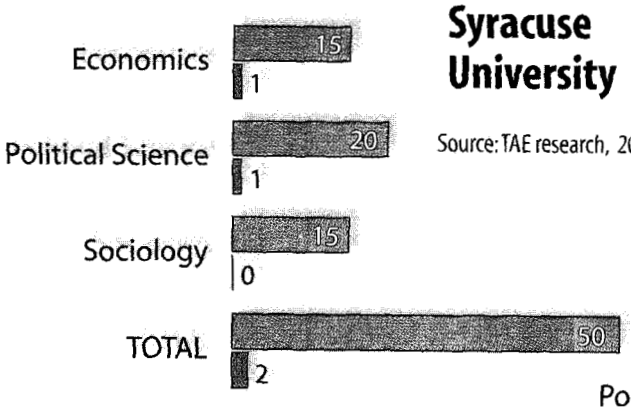
-continued- **Political party enrollments of professors as listed in local voter registration records**

KEY: L = professors registered in a party of the Left R = professors registered in a party of the Right



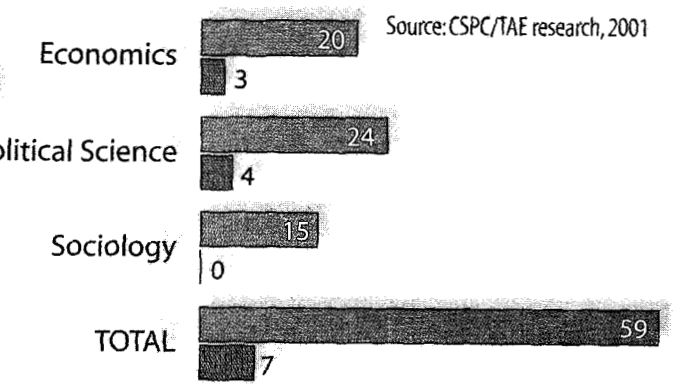
State University of New York at Binghamton

Source: *Binghamton Review*, 1998



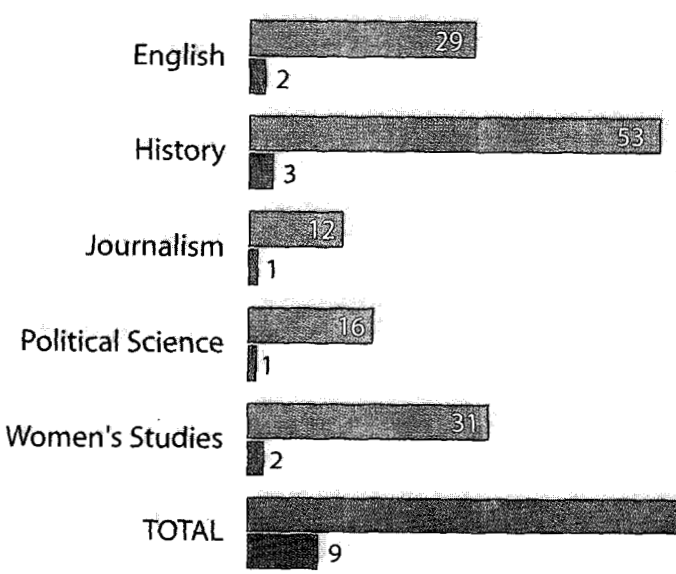
Syracuse University

Source: TAE research, 2001



University of California at Berkeley

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001



University of California at Los Angeles

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001

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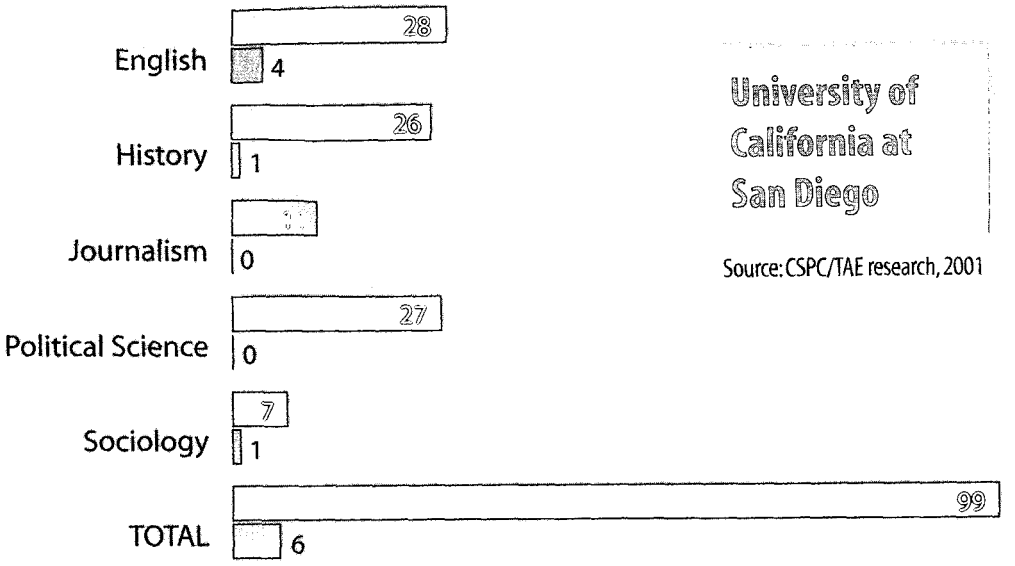
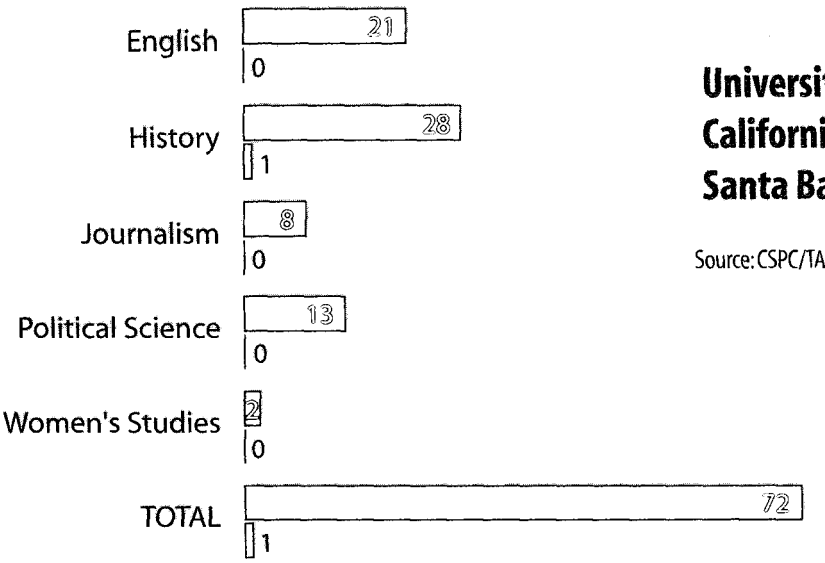


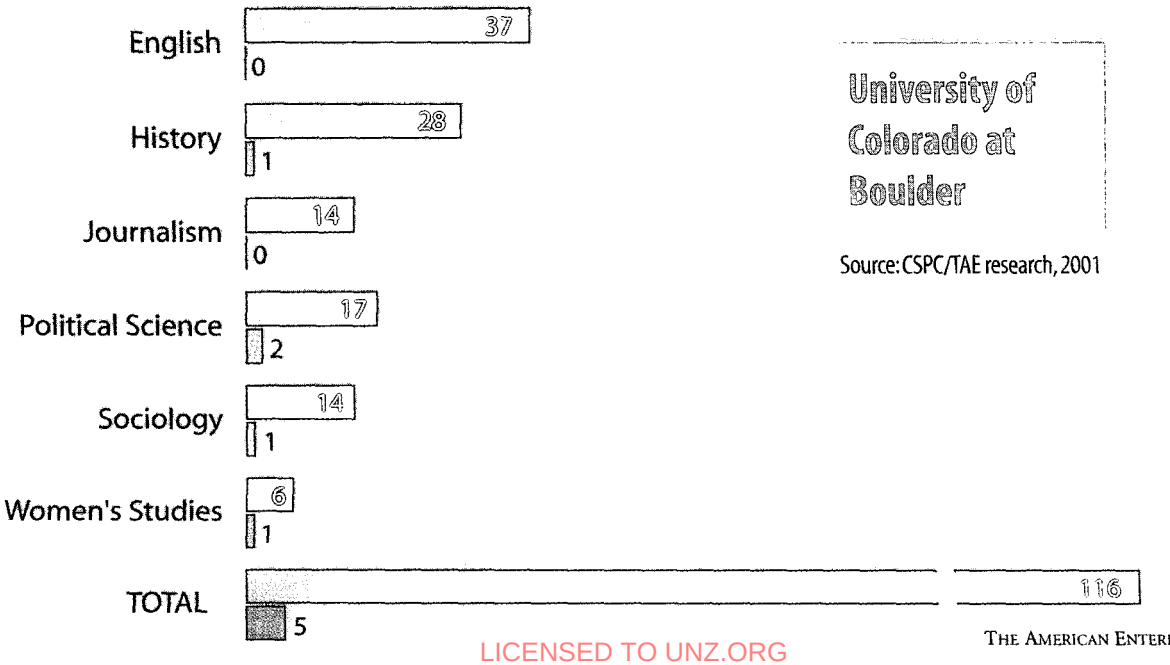
University of California at San Diego

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001



University of California at Santa Barbara

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001



University of Colorado at Boulder

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001

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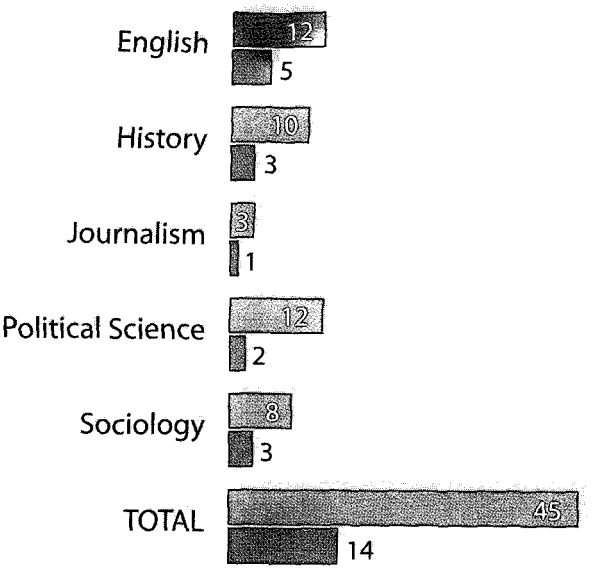
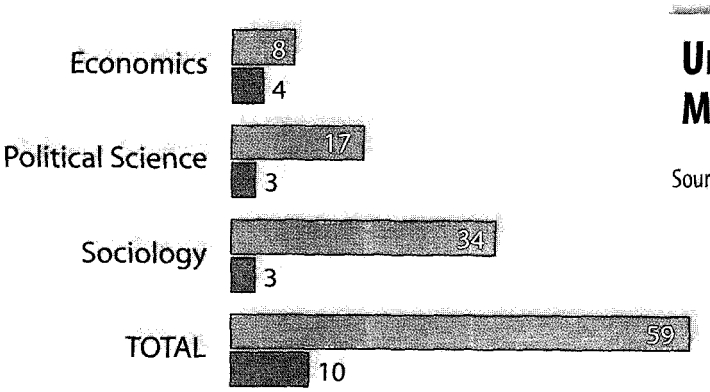
-continued- **Political party enrollments of professors as listed in *local* voter registration records**

KEY: L = professors registered in a party of the Left R = professors registered in a party of the Right



University of Houston

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001



University of Maryland

Source: TAE research, 2001

According to calculations done by a UNC student newspaper in the same way as the others in this collection, fully eight out of ten members of that university's humanities and social sciences faculty are registered as Democrats; most of the remainder are unaffiliated or unknown.

University of North Carolina

Source: *Choosing the Right College*, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2001

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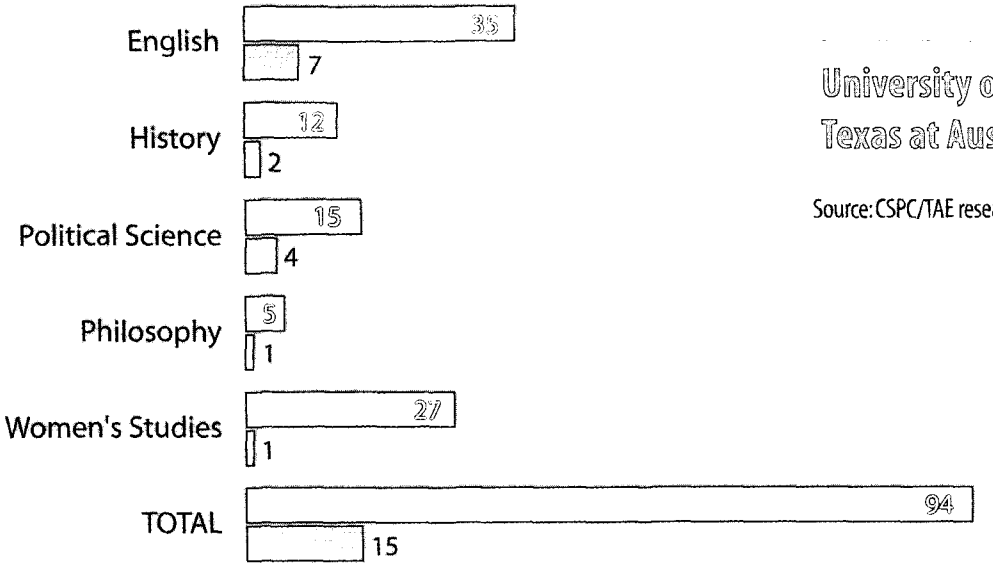

University of Texas at Austin

Source: CSPC/TAE research, 2001

A recent survey revealed only four registered Republicans among Williams' total faculty of more than 200 professors.

Williams College

Source: Robert Baldwin, *Doublethink*, Summer 2001

A poll of 151 professors from a cross section of Ivy League universities was conducted in 2001 by Frank Luntz Research for the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. It found that 3 percent of the professors identified themselves as Republican, while 57 percent said they were Democrats. Among the public at large, the corresponding figures were 37 percent Republican, 34 percent Democrat.

Asked to characterize their general outlook, 0 percent of Ivy League professors called themselves "conservative," and 6 percent chose "somewhat conservative." Meanwhile, 30 percent said they were "somewhat liberal," and 34 percent answered "liberal."

When it came to actual voting in the 2000 election, 84 percent of Ivy League professors chose Al Gore, 6 percent voted for Ralph Nader, and 9 percent selected George W. Bush. The wider electorate, of course, was split 48 percent to 48 percent, with 3 percent for Nader.

Ivy League Universities

Source: Frank Luntz, 2001

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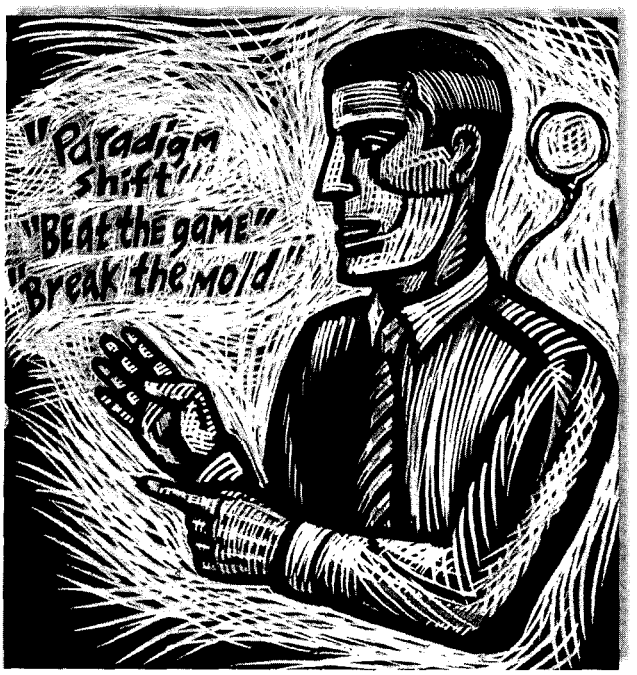

By Kenneth Lee

Time to Fight Back:

An Anti-Discrimination Campaign Waiting to Happen?

Imagine opening your newspaper one morning and reading a Supreme Court opinion that puts a startling new twist on an old civil rights tactic. The Court declares that some prominent university has violated equal opportunity laws by "engaging in a pattern of employment discrimination...against Republicans and Christian conservatives. Of the university's 1,828 professors, there are only eight Republicans and five Christian conservatives. Such statistical evidence of gross political and ideological imbalance has been taken as a telltale sign of purposeful discrimination in many previous civil rights cases. In this case as well it provides *prima facie* evidence that individual rights are being systematically violated on arbitrary grounds. Justice demands compensatory action to protect the rights of these groups."

Is this a right-wing pipe dream? It may not be as far-fetched as you think.

The Supreme Court has already issued opinions using virtually those same words—only the opinions refer to "underrepresented" racial minorities rather than beleaguered Republicans and Christian conservatives. The simple legal logic underlying much of contemporary civil rights law applies equally to conservative Republicans, who appear to face clear practices of discrimination in American academia that are statistically even starker than previous blackballings by race.

For years, conservatives have complained that universities dominated by left-wing administrators and faculties consistently avoid hiring or tenuring academics with conservative views. Anecdotal evidence of such discrimination abounds. Take John Lott, author of *More Guns, Less Crime*, an influential and best-selling book published by the University of Chicago Press. At only 26, Lott received his Ph.D. from UCLA and five years later became chief economist at the United States Sentencing Commission. He has published over 70 scholarly articles, a number that even the most prolific professors rarely match in their entire careers.

Yet Lott has failed to receive a single offer for a tenure-track position from any American university, despite sending his résumé to literally hundreds of schools. He instead became an itinerant academic clinging to one-year research fellowships at various institutions. Last year, he found a home as a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Would Lott have been snubbed by the academic world had his research on guns yielded opposite, more politically correct results? Not a chance.

Peter Berkowitz, then an associate professor of political philosophy at Harvard, was denied tenure even though he had authored two critically acclaimed books. The five-member tenure committee, for instance, was suspiciously stacked with two child psychologists, who are presumably more familiar with Saint Nicholas than Saint Thomas Aquinas and other subjects within Berkowitz's expertise.

TAE *contributing writer Kenneth Lee practices law in New York and co-chairs a subcommittee of The Federalist Society's civil rights practice group.*

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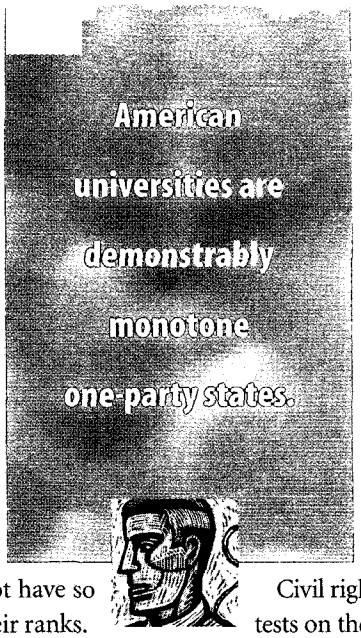
Despite many such examples—plus obvious evidence from campus culture, politics, and daily practice demonstrating that colleges can be hostile environments for people with conservative views—there was until recently no hard, empirical proof of pervasive left-wing bias in our academies. That has changed. As the data arrayed on the preceding pages illustrate, American universities are demonstrably monotone one-party states where only one set of views flourishes. At prominent colleges across the country, the vast majority of professors are committed liberals. Many humanities and social science departments at leading universities do not have so much as a single registered Republican among their ranks.



These stark statistics do more than just confirm what conservatives have always suspected. They potentially may allow Republicans to pursue legal action against universities by using the logic and law of the civil rights movement.

Over the past few decades, studies that show statistical under-representation of minorities have become the cornerstone of civil rights litigation. Plaintiffs invariably cite statistical disparities in work forces, bank loans, arrest rates, application acceptances, housing ownership, and scores of other measures as proof of discrimination. Courts were not always receptive to such statistical claims. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 explicitly stated that it did not require the work force to mirror the general population. LBJ's Justice Department assured skeptics that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would be used only to combat intentional discrimination against individual members of minority groups, not ever to force numerical "racial balance." But as with so many other laws, administrative agencies and courts gradually transformed the plain language of the statute to mean something very different.

In two landmark decisions in the 1970s, the Supreme Court made it considerably easier for plaintiffs to prove discrimination with simple numbers. First, in *International Brotherhood of Teamsters v. United States*, it allowed plaintiffs to claim "disparate treatment"—that is, intentional discrimination—when statistics showed an under-representation of minorities. While cautioning against relying solely on statistics, the Supreme Court stressed that they are "in many cases the only available avenue…to uncover clandestine and covert discrimination by the employer…. It is ordinarily expected that nondiscriminatory hiring practices will in time result in a work force more or less representative of the racial and ethnic composition of the population in the community from which employees are hired." Though commentators like Thomas Sowell pointed out that the Court's reasoning is questionable—many variables other than discrimination can account for representational disparities—this thinking has become an established part of the civil rights legal firmament.

In addition to this "disparate treatment" theory of discrimination, the Supreme Court also accepted the novel notion of "disparate impact" in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company*. According to this theory, even a neutral hiring practice or procedure can be found discriminatory if it results in a disproportionate *impact* on minority groups. The plaintiff in a disparate impact case need not even allege that the employer has a biased bone in his body. Evidence that minorities are adversely affected by any policy may be sufficient to hold the employer liable for discrimination.

Civil rights groups have challenged the use of standardized tests on these grounds, claiming that since minority students score lower on the SAT it is biased by definition. Laws and enforcement practices that lead to heavy minority arrests are similarly attacked. The legal logic of disparate impact has seeped right down into our everyday political parlance: Activists constantly use this civil rights language to force political changes. Fatimah Jackson, a professor of anthropology at the University of Maryland, recently complained that human genome research disproportionately and "opportunistically" benefits whites at the expense of minorities, because most of the genes in the study come from Caucasians.

By simple logic, both disparate treatment and disparate impact theories support a legal case against universities for discriminating against conservative Republicans. Republican academics might protest their lot using disparate impact logic that points to a particular hiring practice or procedure that adversely affects members of the GOP. If a school department relies heavily on the number of articles published in left-leaning journals in hiring professors, Republicans might argue that such a practice disproportionately hurts conservatives whose works are rarely accepted by the left-wing press.

The disparate treatment alternative is even more obvious. The gross under-representation of conservatives in university faculties lends credence to the view that schools have in plain fact discriminated against Republican academics. As the Supreme Court suggested in *International Brotherhood*, one would expect university faculties to reflect the political and ideological composition of the larger populace, and roughly as many Americans identify themselves as Republicans as Democrats.

Students at Harvard Law School sued the school in the early 1990s with the help of civil rights activists because it had only five black professors of 66 total faculty members. "For years, students have petitioned Harvard Law School to end its discriminatory practices and to make serious commitments toward creating a diverse faculty," one student member of the Harvard Law School Coalition for Civil Rights explained. "We have negotiated. We have protested. We have taken to the streets. Today, we take Harvard to court." If minority professors at Harvard Law School are under-represented in relation to the general popula-

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tion, then Republican professors at places like Harvard are a nearly extinct species.

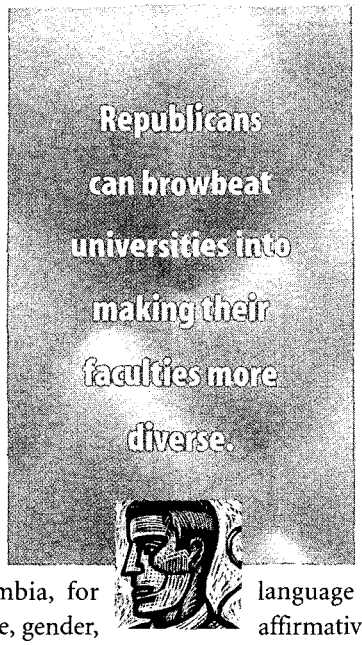
While these potential legal actions may seem like a logical extension of civil rights precedents, there are several significant hurdles that would hamper such lawsuits. First, Republican academics could not pursue a discrimination lawsuit under federal law because the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not outline political affiliation as a protected status. Some states and localities, however, have extended civil rights protection to party membership. The District of Columbia, for instance, bars discrimination on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation, or political affiliation.

Second, under both disparate treatment and disparate impact theories, the employer is at least in theory entitled to explain away the inference of discrimination, though the employee has an opportunity to rebut the employer's explanation as a mere pretext for discriminating. Third, political party affiliation is not always the most accurate proxy for ideology. Some Republicans, like New York mayor Michael Bloomberg, hold views to the left of many Democrats. Finally, courts in recent years have slowly swung the pendulum back against innovative extensions of civil rights law, making it more difficult for plaintiffs to pursue discrimination lawsuits.

Yet even if Republicans fail in courts of law, they can triumph in the court of public opinion by establishing the parallel between discrimination by ideology and bias directed toward race or sex. This reality is shrewdly grasped by operators like Jesse Jackson, who regularly bludgeons opponents with the specter of exorbitant legal fees, a potential lawsuit loss, and heaps of negative publicity unless they cave in to his demands, even if the lawsuit itself appears to have little merit. After MCI and WorldCom announced their merger some years ago, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition filed objections to the merger with federal regulators, and Jackson accused the companies of displaying "distaste for black labor." Although Jackson's complaint was highly frivolous in substantive and legal terms, the companies appeased his demands rather than risk negative publicity.

When Jackson led a media charge against Coca-Cola, demanding that "Coke's board of directors must look like its consumer base," he publicly exhorted the company not to fight back legally. "The right thing is to reach an honorable and fair settlement. Those who choose to dance or deny a resolution of the lawsuit are not serving you well. Law bills going up, stock prices going down."

Republicans can learn a lesson or two from this. Armed with the alarming statistics on the preceding pages about the lack of ideological diversity on college campuses, Republicans can browbeat universities into making their faculties more diverse. Americans realize the extent to which liberals and leftists dominate faculties. Exposing universities to the glare of publicity might at least force them to concede that hiring employees from only one side of the political spectrum is a problem to be avoided whenever possible.



And as Jackson does with corporations, Republicans can target universities' pocketbooks. By informing state legislatures as well as fair-minded alumni about the lack of diversity of ideas on the American campus today, conservatives can tighten the cash spigot until schools take affirmative steps to remedy current imbalances.

In fact, Republicans should appropriate the language and logic of liberals' most sacred shibboleth: affirmative action. Liberals have increasingly relied on the "diversity" rationale to defend racial preferences. "Lack of diversity harms every white or Asian-American student who is here because their education is without the benefit of the perspectives of those now absent students once brought to classroom discussions," stated UCLA professor Gary Blasi in a typical race-based plaint that could be effortlessly extended to the diversity of ideas and political views.

As a purely legal proposition, the diversity rationale for racial preferences remains questionable. The Supreme Court has never accepted diversity as a compelling reason to impose affirmative action on employers, and federal appellate courts are divided on whether it is permissible in educational contexts. Nevertheless, the diversity-über-alles mindset has gained popularity among policymakers, professors, pundits, and the general public. No one wants to appear opposed to "diversity." But if a mix of perspectives is as important as liberals claim, they should be rushing to recruit a more politically and ideologically diverse faculty.

Sadly, that's not something that will ever happen voluntarily. The American university, which likes to call itself a wide-open marketplace of ideas, is in fact a very narrow world with a near monopoly of viewpoints on central cultural and political questions. That's why college students in history classes are taught that anti-communism was nothing more than jingoistic paranoia, why political science professors lecture to students that Republicans, not Democrats, cynically rely on the race card to win elections, and why impressionable young minds all across the country are drilled to think of Presidents like Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush as nothing more than amiable dunces, and their issues nothing more than benighted foolishness.

In the seminal case of *Regents of University of California v. Bakke*, Supreme Court Justice Powell noted that "it is the business of a university to provide that atmosphere which is most conducive to speculation, experiment, and creation." It is time we bring back that sort of openness to America's campuses—and stealing a few pages from the civil rights handbook would be a sensible place to start.

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

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By Larry Schweikart

History to The Left of Us

USA Today recently reported on its front page that American high school seniors could not perform even at the most basic level in the subject of history. Less than half the students could identify or explain major events in U.S. history, such as the Monroe Doctrine, Nat Turner's rebellion, or the Bay of Pigs invasion. Why can't Johnny learn history?

The standard culprits deserve blame, including lack of competition in public schools, low standards, and entrenched unions. Another factor in the dismal state of elementary and high-school education however, seeps down from the college level: a pervasive bias that distorts American-history textbooks. A sampling of what passes for history in some of the main college texts will offer a glimpse of the hurdles that confront even unbiased, well-meaning secondary school instructors who rely on these "mainstream" texts. (Due to the familiarity of most readers with events of the last 20 years, I will limit my examples to the final chapters of these books, but the tilt proliferates in the treatment of earlier events as well.)

During the Reagan years, textbook authors tried to minimize the extent of Reagan's surprising 1980 election victory by pointing to overall voter participation. George Tindall and David Shi's popular *America* states that Reagan's "vote total represented only 28 percent of the potential electorate. Only 53 percent of eligible voters cast ballots in the 1980 election." They fail to remind readers that the highest voter participation levels in American history occurred in 1810, when heavy property-ownership requirements meant that only a handful of Americans elected a President. Likewise, Winthrop Jordan and Leon Litwack continue the "low-turnout" mantra in their *The United States* by sarcastically noting that "the new President entered the White House having received a 'landslide' of only 26 percent of the electorate."

Another line of attack is to depict Ronald Reagan as no more than an actor. Though Daniel Goldfield and his co-authors acknowledge Reagan's masterful communication skills in *American Journey*, they seem obliged to note in a photo caption that "critics questioned his grasp of complex issues." Reagan "was no intellectual," claims the widely-used *American Pageant*, and according to *Nation of Nations*, Reagan made the "conspicuous display of wealth once again a sign of success and power." As if to make absolutely sure students got the point that the Reagan administration benefitted only the "wealthy," the *American Pageant* accompanies its narrative section with a handy chart on "aggregate household income" purportedly showing a massive gap between the rich and poor.

The distortions of the 1980s economic record in these texts would require several issues of *TAE*, but this one rather blatant example ought to suffice: Thomas Bailey et al.'s *American Pageant*, long considered perhaps the best college-level text on U.S. history, devotes not one, but two charts to deficits and the national debt in the 1980s, in which the deficit and debt lines appear to go literally off the map under Reagan's watch. In the chart on the national debt, the bias is even more stark: Large bars across the debt time-line indicate important events in American history ("Depression," "World War II ends," "Vietnam War"). Except the one that crosses the skyrocketing debt. It reads not, say,

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"Last Decade of Cold War" but—you guessed it—"Reagan Administration." Worse, the charts are both badly statistically flawed and conceptually wrong. Students (and most instructors) would likely not notice that the legend reads "Billions of dollars." Hmmm? Not "Billions of Real Dollars" or "Billions of Dollars as a Ratio of GNP?" When I recalculated the *American Pageant* data (for both deficits and debt) in real dollars, then graphed it as a share of GNP, I was stunned. It did not even resemble the original. As a share of GNP, the debt under Reagan barely equaled that of the Kennedy or Truman administrations, and was dwarfed by Roosevelt's New Deal. One error of this type is a mistake. Two in a single chapter suggest deliberate manipulation.

Anyone interested in teaching facts needs to ask: Does this textbook have any connection to the truth?

It gets even worse in the chapters covering the 1990s, where Anita Hill's claims against Clarence Thomas are presented solely in the best light possible. The only words from Thomas that are quoted are his reference to civil rights leaders who "bitch, bitch, bitch," and his famous "high-tech lynching" comment. On the other hand, Hill, the "soft-spoken law professor," as Tindall and Shi describe her, received "rough treatment" at the hands of "male senators." Still, the best the authors can do to discredit Thomas is to conclude that "either Hill or Thomas had lied, and the committee's tie vote reflected the doubt." *American Journey* asserts that "critics [of Hill] failed to shake her story" in the hearings.

The Clinton years accelerate the bias. Given Bill Clinton's anemic popular vote, none of the authors could claim that his election was a vindication the Democratic agenda, so the texts return to an emphasis on voter turnout. John Murrin et al.'s *Liberty, Equality, Power* paints the 1992 election as victory for liberalism, where the turnout "reversed 32 years of steady decline in participation." That Ross Perot's wild-card candidacy was responsible for most of the new voters who turned out is simply ignored.

When it comes to the Clinton administration itself, scholars contort themselves to offer a positive spin. One would not know that Hillary's health care plan, which went down to ignominious defeat in the House (even among Democrats) when the details leaked out, was a political and economic disaster. Other texts blame the implosion of the First Lady's health plan on special interests, claiming "the bill aroused opposition from vested interests, especially the pharmaceutical and insurance industries" (Tindall and Shi). Steven Gillon and Cathy Matson's *American Experience* calls Hillarycare the "victim of...intense partisan wrangling" while Alan Brinkley's *Unfinished Nation* blames its defeat on "the determination of Republican leaders to deny the President any kind of victory on this potent issue." Other texts fault Rush Limbaugh: *Liberty, Equality, Power* claims that "talk-radio shows featured non-stop criticism of the Clinton White House for bungling the health care issue." (No mention is made of Limbaugh's point that the details of Hillarycare, which included *jailing* doctors who took cash for medical services and incarcerating patients who attempted to pay in cash, scared Americans to death.)

Not only is the slant of the wording obvious, so is the amount of space allotted to coverage of topics. The "militia movement" rates almost two full pages in Tindall and Shi, and readers get a whole paragraph about greedy corporate CEOs such as Albert J. Dunlop, "aka...'Rambo in Pinstripes.'" But try to find John Huang, Travelgate, or Buddhist Temples in the index—*fuggedaboutit*. The only Buddhists mentioned in Paul Boyer et al.'s *Enduring Vision* are those who protested against the Diem regime in Vietnam.

Most of the time the authors don't need the more subtle "coverage" method to make their point. Consider the treatment of the 1994 "Contract With America." *The Unfinished Nation* states that "Opinion polls suggested that few voters in 1994 were aware of the 'Contract' at the time they voted." *American Experience* refers to the Contract as "a political wish list polished by consultants and tested in focus groups," while *American Journey* portrayed the Contract's success as the result of Republicans stoking "personal animosity" against, of course, minorities, women, and the poor. (So which is it? Voters didn't know about it, or their "animosity" drove them to the voting booths?) *American Pageant* bemoans "radical reductions in welfare programs," and asserts that the Contract only succeeded because Democrats' arguments were "drowned in the right-wing tornado that roared across the land." It goes without saying that none of FDR's victories are ever labeled, in any text, as a "left-wing tornado."

Certainly don't expect fairness when it comes to Ken Starr or impeachment. We learn from Murrin that "Starr moved aggressively to expand his inquiry...and seemed intent on securing an indictment against at least one of the Clintons." Brinkley informs readers that "Starr had been investigating the Whitewater matter for nearly four years without significant results." Apparently the convictions of Webster Hubbell and the McDougals are insignificant. Boyer et al.'s *Enduring Vision* teaches as objective fact that Bill Clinton was "the target of...conservative Republican zealots determined to drive him from office."

The American Journey provides a full page of "From Then to Now: Impeachment," comparing the Nixon and Clinton impeachment efforts. It concludes, as one might expect by now, that only Nixon's impeachment met the standards of the Founders, and that "his lies did not just reflect on his character, they also undermined the integrity of national elections." I checked the index, one more time, just to be sure that I had not missed any further comments on integrity and elections. I had not. Not a single reference to "Buddhist Temple," John Huang, or "White House coffees."

Before adopting a text for a course, any educator interested in teaching facts needs to ask an important question: Does the book have any connection to the truth?

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By Naomi Schaefer

The Big Snooze:

How College Trustees Are Failing Their Universities

"A bloodless civil war." That's what the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* calls the controversy at Auburn University in Alabama, where faculty, students, and alumni are struggling with the university's board of trustees. The trustees, their opponents claim, are micromanaging everything from the football program to the school's construction plans. A president has been fired, a head coach forced out, and a $2 million donation lost, all because of the meddling trustees. But what really makes the story of Auburn University stand out against the backdrop of higher education today is that its trustees are paying any attention at all to what is going on at the institution supposedly in their charge.

At most schools, as Richard Baer, a professor in the Natural Resources Department at Cornell University, attests, the trustees are out to lunch. A few years ago, Baer was approached by six religious students from the University's College of Human Ecology. The students complained to Baer that in their class discussions of family, sexuality, and euthanasia, the views

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of religious students were caricatured or ignored altogether. Diversity, at least the intellectual kind, was absent. So Baer, who had a reputation for supporting religious students, offered his assistance.

After helping them compile a thorough report on their classroom texts and other course materials, Baer tried to present the report to various administrators up and down the chain of command. He eventually turned to the school's Board of Trustees. "They didn't want to talk about it," Baer explains. "It's very risky for one trustee to do this because you will get a lot of opposition from the faculty and administration."

The fact that few trustees hold advanced academic degrees makes them doubt their qualifications to debate a school's curriculum.

Steve Weinstein, who served as a trustee for Rowan College in New Jersey from 1990 to 1997, had a similar experience. "When you become a trustee," he explains, "you are inculcated with the sense that your job is to support the administration." In Weinstein's case, this meant that he and the other trustees were expected simply to rubber-stamp any proposed budget handed down from the school administration. Instead, Weinstein argued, during his time on the board, that the budget is not just an annual statement, "it's a policy document." Weinstein believes the board should use the budget as a "way to look further ahead than just one year." Sharing this belief, some boards of trustees have become involved in debates over tuition rates. But, as Weinstein, points out, they are only touching the tip of the iceberg.

During Weinstein's tenure as chairman of the board, Rowan received its largest gift yet, $100 million. Here was an opportunity, Weinstein decided, "to figure out what we wanted to be. Some suggested we should use the money to make ourselves into a more elite institution. Others thought that's not what a public college is for." Weinstein wanted the gift to serve as an occasion for the board to look into issues like tuition hikes, faculty tenure, and the school's curriculum.

But as soon as the board members tried to discuss any of these issues at their meetings, they were met with "real opposition from the faculty." "The faculty were afraid that somehow our decisions could affect their lives," Weinstein says.

Elsewhere as well, faculty opposition seems to be one of the main reasons trustees are reluctant to get involved in a university's affairs. Jerry Martin, the president of the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), worries that "trustees will dive into the financial but they are skittish about the academic. The faculty always says the latter is their domain." Still, the fact that few trustees hold advanced academic degrees makes them doubt their own qualifications to debate issues

The College of Your Dreams?

rite papers about sexual fantasies. Visit strip clubs. Watch an instructor have sex. All the while earn units toward graduation—at the University of California at Berkeley.

A party organized for a "male sexuality" class was held in the home of some of the course's instructors after the class's year-end outing to a strip club.

"There was an orgy at one of the parties," said Christy Kovacs, a U.C. Berkeley freshman, who took a male sexuality class last semester. "And after we went to a strip club, at the party, people took pictures of their genitalia."

Partygoers could go into the bathroom and take anonymous Polaroids of their genitalia and then place them in a box. Later, people at the party would try to match the Polaroids to the person.

Some of the instructors said no one was pressured into taking the pictures, which they called a "party game." The party was organized to better acquaint students taking the class, but attendance was not mandatory, they said.

Though people may tend to focus on some of the "hard-core" elements of the class, students are given the chance to discuss issues about sexuality that they feel are important, said Morgan Janssen, a student instructor of male sexuality.

Similar to the male sexuality course, the female sexuality class also visits a strip club and teaches a section on pornography and erotica. Both classes are offered by the Women's Studies department.

The purpose of teaching pornography in the class is to tell students that it is OK to watch porn, said Kim Brodsky, an instructor of one of the courses and a recent graduate.

Last fall, a group of students in the male sexuality class chose to do their final project on a trip to a gay strip club.

Although some people are glad they took the class, they acknowledge that it may not be for everyone: Having their nipples sucked during a field trip to a strip club and watching instructors strip or have sex at clubs are among activities that may deter some students.

Of course not all. And the ones that had enrolled for the newest Male Sexuality class are surely disappointed that the course was, finally, suspended by administrators due to uncomfortable questions raised by the *Daily Californian*.

From reports by Brittany Adams and Steve Sexton, writers for the student newspaper the Daily Californian.

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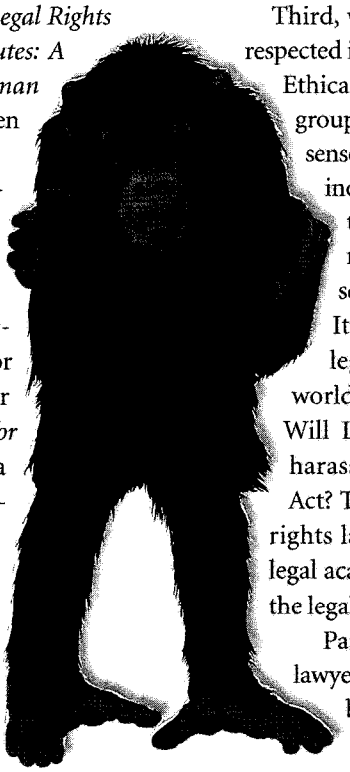
Animal House

By Mark Pulliam

The nation's leading law schools are teaching the "best and the brightest" that human beings are no better than dogs and pigs, and maybe worse. This is the pernicious credo of the "animal rights movement," the vanguard of which has infiltrated the ivy-covered walls of academia.

Fringe movements supported by a fanatical minority become legitimate only when they are recognized by the establishment. Unfortunately, American law schools are uncritically providing the imprimatur for the movement's radical goals. Equating poultry production to the Holocaust is, in a word, nutty. Arguing that laboratory rats and barnyard animals should be given the same legal rights as humans borders on irrational. Yet the Rutgers University School of Law in New Jersey (the official state-supported law school) has established an Animal Rights Law Project that promotes as its mission the recognition "that animals should be thought of as *persons* under the law."

In addition to Rutgers, "Animal Rights Law" is taught at Hastings (University of California in San Francisco), UCLA, Georgetown, Duke, Michigan, Vermont, and Yale law schools. Northwestern School of Law of Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon publishes a student-run scholarly journal called *Animal Law*. Recent articles include *Dismantling the Barriers to Legal Rights for Nonhuman Animals* and *Animal Custody Disputes: A Growing Crack in the "Legal Thinghood" of Nonhuman Animals*. You know a legal movement has arrived when it has its own legal publication.



The nation's most prestigious law school, Harvard, got off to a slow start but is rapidly catching up. Harvard Law School did not offer a course in animal rights law until 2000, several years after the subject became vogue. When Harvard does something, however, it's first-class. The inaugural instructor was Steven Wise, a practicing animal rights lawyer whose book, *Rattling the Cage: Toward Legal Rights for Animals*, has been described as the animals' Magna Carta. Harvard bragged in a press release that students taking the course will discuss "whether legal rights should be limited to humans and, if not, what non-human animals should be entitled to them under the common law, and to which legal rights they should be entitled." The press release went on to explain that the course "will examine in detail the arguments for and against the entitlement of chimpanzees and bonobos to the common law rights to bodily integrity and bodily liberty." Students at the most distinguished law school in the country will learn legal arguments to liberate monkeys from zoos and scientific research facilities.

The "Animal Law Seminar" offered by Georgetown University Law School addresses the thorny issue faced by lawyers who represent animals in court: Since animals can't communicate, and aren't (yet) allowed to bring lawsuits in their own name, how do lawyers claim to act on their behalf? The Georgetown curriculum guide assures that "a significant portion of the course will address and discuss standing, a potential problem facing those who seek to litigate on behalf of animals and those who seek to protect them." The Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco recognizes in its course description for Animal Law that "the legal changes effected by practitioners in the field of animal law have implications for developing concepts of tort law, environmental law, criminal law, Constitutional law and even wills and trusts." Talk about an understatement. If the legal status of animals were transformed from mere property to full "personhood," as the movement advocates, our society would be turned upside down. But not to worry; students at Hastings will be taught how to "address a broadened integration of the realities of animals and society with the particularities of the law."

What should observers make of all this? First, sometimes, as here, only educated people can believe something too foolish for anyone with common sense to accept. Second, just as courts revolutionized the fields of tort law and product liability, Constitutional law, and civil rights law, one can expect activist judges to pave the way to a legal status for animals.

Third, we ought to be concerned that influential and respected institutions have joined forces with People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and other extremist groups. Animal rights law is not law in any meaningful sense; it is social engineering of the most reckless and indefensible sort, without any basis in history, culture, tradition, experience, logic, or practical necessity. What, then, is the impulse for elite law schools to take up this absurd cause?

It is surely not to equip law students to provide legal services to any paying client in the real world. Will Bonzo call to challenge the curfew law? Will Dumbo want to sue for discrimination and harassment under the Americans with Disabilities Act? The only explanation for the teaching of animal rights law is that the legal system has run amok, the legal academy has become an ideological sandbox, and the legal professoriate is at play.

Parents, don't let your children grow up to be lawyers, and don't subsidize this pedagogical travesty by footing the bill. Alumni, pay attention to what is happening at your alma maters and voice your opinion if you object to what is taught. If necessary, stop supporting your law school financially. And pre-law students, read the law schools' course catalogs carefully before you enroll and begin writing those tuition checks. The schools to which you are applying may think you are no better than a monkey. Prove them wrong.

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like a school's curriculum.

The inclination of the trustees not to make waves—whether they do not feel qualified, whether the opposition from various factions in the university is too overwhelming, or whether they are blinded to the school's faults by an administration eager to pamper them while keeping them in the dark—has made trustees increasingly irrelevant to college governance.

Public institutions of higher education have had to be somewhat more responsive, since taxpayers occasionally express interest in how their money is spent and trustees at public universities are seen to represent the interests of the state's electorate.

One success story is that of Florida last summer, when Governor Jeb Bush tried to exert more influence over the state's institutions of higher education. After the state's legislature voted to dissolve the Board of Regents, which had previously governed Florida's colleges and universities, Governor Bush appointed 12 new trustees for each university and put them through an orientation to let them know what he expected. "The public trust," he told his audience, "is essential. From the get-go, we must increase the trust citizens have in their public institutions." After the speech, Rosie Webb Joels, president of one of the faculty unions, told the *Miami Herald* that "I am not assured that there is the needed level of respect for academic freedom." A number of faculty raised this concern a few months later when those same trustees decided to dismiss Sami Al-Arians from the University of South Florida after tapes of him giving speeches in Arabic to the tune of "Jihad is our path. Victory for Islam. Death to Israel" were re-broadcast after September 11.

A few years ago, Virginia governor James Gilmore wanted to implement what seemed like a less ambitious program of reform in his state's public university system, but he encountered extraordinary opposition for trying to exert any influence over the schools' boards of visitors, as the trustees are called there. "Governor Gilmore tried to meet with every appointee," says spokeswoman Lila White. "His purpose was to remind them that they are not simply figureheads to do the will of the college president, willy nilly." Contrary to the way Gilmore was portrayed in the press for this action, White says "he wasn't telling them what to do, but he wants to make sure that they understand it's the taxpayers they work for." Gilmore wasn't even trying to interfere in any of the universities' academic business. His main concern was trying to keep tuition low enough for middle-class families to afford. But the school administrations had other plans. In February, a month after Gilmore left office, the state's legislature rejected most of his appointees to the board, rendering any real reform unlikely.

Complacency is even more difficult to combat at private colleges and universities, whose charters can be interpreted in any number of ways that effectively write trustees out of the equation. Last spring, 10,000 alumni of Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts received a letter from Guy C. Bosetti, who graduated from Holy Cross in 1949, and three of his fellow alums, asking whether they thought the college was becoming too secular. The answer, overwhelmingly, was yes. Calling themselves the four horsemen, these graduates have now made it their business to register disapproval of the college's steady loss of its Catholic identity. Most recently, they launched a campaign to stop a student performance of the *Vagina Monologues* on Ash Wednesday. They were unsuccessful even in getting the college censured by the local bishop.

But this is an old story. As far back as the early '80s, many alumni of Dartmouth College were growing frustrated with trying to influence the college's direction through the traditional channels of the board of trustees and the official alumni association. Led by George Champion, former CEO of Chase Manhattan, they formed the Ernest Martin Hopkins Institute, an association of Dartmouth College alumni and students "committed to the principles on which Dartmouth was

Feeling Different? Go to Your Single Dormroom

As Richard Morgan reports in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, the word "transgendered" is the new magic key to Oberlin College's single dormitory rooms. A new policy, Morgan explains, "puts students who identify themselves as transgendered at the head of the line for the institution's 405 single-student rooms. They will join others who already enjoy priority, including those with physical disabilities or serious psychological problems." (Some might argue that men who are convinced they're women are already included in that latter category.)

"Administrators decided to create a formal policy, rather than make decisions on a case-by-case basis, after a student who is biologically male applied to live in an all-female housing cooperative last fall, and was accepted," writes Morgan. "Students claiming to be transgendered are taken at their word." Michael Hartwyk, the campus coordinator for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people, says the single rooms will give the "significant population" of transgendered students the privacy they need. "He acknowledges that the new policy is 'not ideal,' but adds that it's better than 'ignoring their needs altogether.'"

What's next, accommodations for "people with special attachments to their pets"? —KR

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founded." The group has fought against political correctness on campus, questioned the rapid growth of administrative expenses, and contested the university's handling of racial divisions on campus. The Institute is not just in the business of attacking the administration, but seeks to provide alternative viewpoints on campus. It has brought in speakers, including Christina Hoff Sommers, Shelby Steele, Arthur Schlessinger, and Henry Louis Gates.

The Hopkins Institute has received financial support from about 3,000 alumni, a significant number considering that Dartmouth has about 40,000 living alumni, and only 15,000 of those are at all interested in the college's activities (as measured by, among other things, the number who vote in alumni association elections). While the Institute has made a few attempts to reform the way the trustees are chosen, and has encouraged them to oversee the college more closely, it has had little success in this area. Former Institute head Bill Modahl laments that "private institutions are relatively immune from outside pressure." Still, the sort of grassroots alumni activism encouraged by the Institute—like its speaker programs—has been fairly successful.

Perhaps the most successful attempt to influence a college's direction has come from a left-of-center group.

Something similar has also worked at Kenyon College. In the early 1980s, when the school's new provost, Jerry Irish, tried to place women's studies faculty members in various departments, in the process forcing out more-qualified candidates, alumni involvement turned out to be the solution. Richard Baehr, a Kenyon alumnus, received a letter from his former professor, Harry Clor, explaining the latest incident: The political science department had been denied its first and second choices to fill an open position, in favor of a candidate who specialized in women's studies. When the department balked, explains Baehr, the provost took revenge by eliminating two of the department's slots altogether.

Left-wing anti-Semitism on campus

By Brandon Bosworth

The San Francisco Bay Area, one of America's left-wing hotbeds, is now a capital for one more perversion: anti-Semitism. In 2002 alone, there have been at least 20 incidents of violence or vandalism targeting Jews and Israel in the Bay Area. The heart of this growing fanaticism lies within the University of California at Berkeley.

The university's Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is one of the largest anti-Israel student movements in the nation, and it is very active. In April 2001, members took over a campus building for six hours in an effort to force the University of California to divest itself of holdings in companies that do business in Israel. It eventually took 30 police officers and 32 arrests to restore order. This led Shenal Shingavi, who was issued a citation for blocking a doorway, to whine, "It's really disgusting that they are willing to do this to people protesting peacefully." In a statement released on the day of the building's seizure, the SJP issued a statement that "the parallels between Israeli and South African Apartheid are very strong."

The Students for Justice in Palestine (only 10 percent of whom are of Arab decent) have recreated Israeli checkpoints and Palestinian refugee camps, and staged "war crimes tribunals" against Israel. They also led a student-run class called "Occupied Palestine."

September 11 did nothing to dampen their spirits. When a bipartisan "Rally for America" was held on campus less then two weeks after the terror attacks, the SJP held a counter-rally. A pro-U.S. speaker was interrupted with cries of "Go back to Israel!" Signs were posted on university bulletin boards bearing slogans such as "It's the Jews' Fault" and "Stop the Jews."

On Holocaust Remembrance Day this April, SJP members carried signs with slogans like "Israel Lovers are the Nazis of Our Time," and described the current situation in the Middle East as a holocaust against the Palestinians. Pamphlets were passed out accusing the Israeli government of murdering innocent children. Students seized a building and flew Palestinian flags from the windows. About 1,000 students participated in this latest "occupation." Seventy-nine were arrested.

It might seem peculiar that U.C. Berkeley—a campus brimming with lip service to "tolerance" and "diversity"—would host such a display. But Berkeley, where '60s students rallied in favor of our enemies in Vietnam, has long practiced blatant anti-Americanism. In the context of today's U.S. battle against terror, anti-Americanism often intertwines closely with anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish sentiment. Recently, 66 Berkeley professors signed an ad in the *New York Times* condemning U.S. efforts in Afghanistan.

It would be easy to dismiss college students protesting America's war on terror or Israel's defense policies as misguided kids who will eventually grow up and buy Volvos. But behind today's "calls for justice" lies something deeper and darker: ancient hatred of Jews, and modern hatred of America. And let us be clear: These anti-Semitic, anti-American impulses come strictly from one portion of the political spectrum—the Left.

Brandon Bosworth is a TAE *associate editor.*

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Upset with these developments, Baehr sent a letter to the trustees threatening to end his gifts to Kenyon if the provost wasn't stopped, and tried to inform other alumni of the college's activities. An article by Kenyon alumna Elizabeth Lilla in *Commentary* drew more attention to the problem, as did a letter from the editors of Kenyon's student newspaper to 9,000 Kenyon alumni. The college, as Baehr puts it, "was getting very nervous." The administration arranged meetings with alumni around the country, a sort of "listening tour." In the end, the pressure from alums forced Irish's resignation in what Baehr calls "a great victory." What's more, Baehr received a call from Kenyon's director of development thanking him for his activism and energy, and asking him to run for the alumni council. A few years later he was appointed to the board of trustees.

While Baehr's experience of being welcomed into the college fold is rare, most alumni activists do not have a completely adversarial relationship with the colleges' administrations or the traditional alumni associations. Bill Modahl explains, "We would never suggest to people not to give money to the college. Many of our donors are also substantial college donors."

Since most schools don't have a full-time watchdog like the Hopkins Institute, alumni have increasingly turned to the ACTA. The organization, founded in 1995 by Senator Joe Lieberman and now-"Second Lady" Lynne Cheney "to mobilize alumni on behalf of academic freedom and excellence on college campuses," has gone to battle over everything from the University of Chicago's attempt to kill its core curriculum to the elimination of Shakespeare requirements from many English majors. Most recently, in the wake of September 11, the ACTA put out a report called "Defending Civilization: How Our Universities Are Failing America and What Can Be Done About It." The project, which compiled many of the outrageous statements made by professors after the attacks, describes the disturbingly one-sided reaction at American colleges. "Citizens have rallied behind the President wholeheartedly.... Not so in academe.... Some [faculty] refused to make judgments. Many invoked tolerance and diversity as antidotes to evil. Some even pointed accusatory fingers not at the terrorists, but at America itself."

What can alumni do? They "shouldn't just give to an annual fund that supports the good, the bad, and the indifferent," says Martin. Many universities, he acknowledges, will resist targeting efforts, though. When Yale alumnus Lee Bass tried to earmark his $20 million gift to the university for an expanded Western Civilization program, the university balked at his attempts to control the money's use and ended up returning the money.

Nonetheless, ACTA has had some success with targeted gifts. Martin suggests that alumni "find a good professor, or a good program." He boasts that his organization has "helped dozens of alumni give millions of dollars." One Harvard graduate who wanted to give $25,000 in honor of his 25th reunion "came to us in search of projects that might be worthy," explains Martin. The ACTA suggested that he lend his support to government professor Harvey Mansfield, then working on a new translation of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. When the alumnus told Harvard of his plan to direct his funds, "Harvard attempted to suggest that this kind of giving was not appropriate." But the donor did not back down. When, as Martin reports, "he then threatened to give it to Yale," Harvard's administration eventually gave in.

Alternatively, alumni can give money to off-campus groups. At Cornell, Richard Baer was approached by one alumna who noticed Cornell was offering a course on "pornographic gay films." "She wanted to know," Baer says, "where she could contribute that would be more in line with her beliefs." He recommended giving to a new off-campus Christian studies center, founded by a group of faculty and students.

Though it is largely political conservatives who have recently been fighting university administrations, which are overwhelmingly liberal, perhaps the most successful attempt to influence a college's direction has come from a left-of-center group. The Committee for the Equality of Women at Harvard, founded to promote feminist issues at the university, established the Harvard Women Faculty Fund in 1996. The money raised by the fund would be held in escrow until, according to its Web site, "Harvard improved the status of women and made changes in the process of hiring tenured faculty."

The Committee raised only $100,000, the kind of sum that a university with a $20 billion endowment can easily afford to pass up. But the group struck a sympathetic nerve in the national press. Suddenly, Harvard's faculty hiring policies were fodder for the *New York Times*. "We were successful in drawing attention to the idea, even though we could not make Harvard tremble about the amount of money we had raised," says Committee co-chair Ann Shapiro.

In truth, very few alumni of any university have the kind of money it takes to get noticed by an administration. And, as Bill Modahl points out, "alumni contributions are not as important to a university's budget as they once were." An influx of federal dollars, he explains, can now be counted on to support much of a school's operating budget.

This makes trustees more important than ever. Given how little financial influence individual alumni can have on a school, it is unfortunate that in most cases, the organ set up to oversee a university's activities—the board of trustees—is, as former trustee Elizabeth Kaming puts it, "asleep at the switch."

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The Twisted Academy:

How Academics Get Other Cultures Wrong

A Chinese Famine Ignored

By Arthur Waldron

China's relative opening to the world in the late 1970s has provided scholars with something that many never imagined possible: the opportunity to compare facts that are known today to the assessments the scholars had made of that country when it was still tightly closed. Not surprisingly, some scholars got a great deal right. Others, were very, very wrong.

One of the best examples of this is the handling of the grim and stomach-turning story of how 40 million Chinese perished in the famines that resulted from Mao Zedong's disastrous attempt to make the Chinese economy perform "greater-faster-better-cheaper" during the Great Leap Forward. From a scholarly viewpoint, however, this is the story of a most remarkable sin of omission perpetrated by the Western China-watching community: The famine was not reported in the respectable Western media at the time.

Compare two scholars who got things right—Jürgen Domes and Edward Rice—with two who got them wrong—William Hinton and John Fairbank.

Ironically, those who missed the great, mind-boggling tragedy were those who purported to take a "Chinese" point of view of the whole thing: those who sought to be culturally sensitive and aware. What they learned was that the Cultural Revolution flowed from Mao's important extension of Marx's theories, that class conflict did not end with the victory of communism but in fact continued. Regular struggles were therefore necessary to keep the revolution young and avoid bureaucratization and sclerosis.

William Hinton is an appealing character who has genuinely given his life to China, albeit in a rather naive and confused way. For Hinton, all that happened in China until Deng's time is for the best, part of the unfolding of one of the most dramatic sto-

These two articles are adapted from talks given at the National Association of Scholars conference in Washington, D.C. this past spring. Arthur Waldron is director of Asian Studies at AEI. Hillel Fradkin is president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

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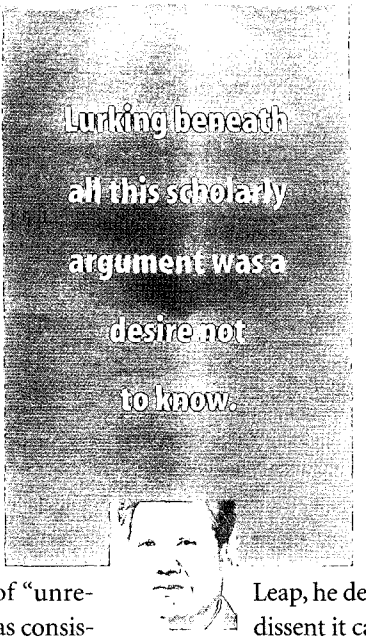
ries of national revival in human history, with immense relevance for South and Southeast Asia, which share many of the structures and problems of the Chinese agrarian economy.

For Hinton, above all, these lessons have to do with feeding the hungry—a worthy goal to be sure, though not achieved by China as successfully as he maintained. But there is a worse defect. To read Hinton's first book, the misleading but readable *Fanshen*, one would think that China's fundamental need was for land redistribution. But throughout most of China, land had been privately owned; "Landlords" were people who owned a few acres. And the productivity of "unreformed" Chinese agriculture, landlords and all, was consistently as high as can be achieved without modern machinery, pesticides, and chemical fertilizers. So the premise of Hinton's most famous book was incorrect to begin with.



But even in Hinton's far more honest follow-up, *Shenfan*, in 1983, in which he revisits the towns he described in his first book, he spends more than two dozen pages on the Great Leap and includes only one indirect mention of the great starvation.

John Fairbank was an altogether different sort of man. He was, for one thing, seemingly free of human passions. His own account of his career, *Chinabound: A Fifty Year Memoir,* must rank among the most unrevealing autobiographies ever written. He was also, as far as one can tell, politically ambitious. But his dreamed-of public career evaporated when the victorious communists turned out to have little interest in trade and even less in diplomacy with the United States. But he thought the communists deserved a fair hearing, and he did his best to provide it.

Thus, successive editions of Fairbank's widely-read introduction to twentieth-century China, *The United States and China,* tread very lightly on the subject of the famine. In the final edition, Fairbank devotes eight pages to the Great Leap Forward and the collective farms Mao created. His only reference to the devastating mass starvation is this single, solitary sentence: "Malnutrition was widespread and some starvation occurred." Only in his widely praised final work, *China: A New History,* written after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, does he finally acknowledge the full extent of the famine.

But even as Hinton and Fairbank dominated university syllabi, other scholars wrote books that were widely available and contained accounts that were remarkably close to what we now know to have been true. During the 1960s and early '70s, Jürgen Domes, a man of East European ancestry who was a university professor in Germany, published a remarkable short book called *The Internal Politics of China* in 1973. He has the following to say about the famine: "At least ten million died...but an estimate of even several times this number cannot be entirely dismissed." How does Domes know? Look at his footnotes and you will find references to, of all things, the official communist Chinese press—Chinese writers slipped much important information into print. Domes, an assiduous reader of Chinese primary materials, worked outside "the field"—which is to say he read mostly Chinese writings, rather than the latest crop of essays and opinions of Westerners commenting on other Westerners.

Another observer who got things astonishingly right was Edward Rice, an old-time U.S. government China watcher who served for many years as consul general in Hong Kong. Like Domes, he immersed himself in Chinese raw materials. His book, *Mao's Way*, has stood up remarkably well. In his chapters on the Great Leap, he describes both the famine itself and the widespread dissent it caused. Above all, Rice understood that the deaths of innocent Chinese farmers in a famine caused by party policy was not so much an ideological as a political issue.

Writing at roughly the same time, with access to exactly the same materials, Rice and Domes saw most of the truth clearly, while Hinton and Fairbank missed it completely—until, of course, the famine was officially acknowledged by the Chinese government. This admission came in a typically indirect way. The Chinese Academy of Sciences sent computer tapes—knowing perfectly well what they contained—to Professor Ansley Coale at Princeton University, a respected demographer. His findings were more or less buried in a pamphlet with the anodyne title *Rapid Population Change in China, 1952-1982*. Thus did the famine become a fact. Chinese scholars today will quote figures of the order of 40 million dead.

The current generation of China-watchers, of course, is growing up without any sense of how strong the denial once was, and above all without learning the general lessons about studying foreign cultures that are so clearly taught by the incident I have just described. What are these lessons?

First, it is essential to know the language of the country you are studying. This should be obvious, but it is not. Over the course of 20 years I heard Fairbank speak only three words of Chinese. Yet, as the examples of both Rice and Domes make clear, language is the key.

One problem with China studies during the Great Leap was that too many people thought they already knew what was happening—not from empirical study, but from theory—and therefore neglected the former. The lesson: Never trust theories over facts. This brings us to a basic logical point that is often forgotten: Scholars need to look for evidence that undercuts their arguments. Scholars like Hinton and Fairbank never did this. Even as refugees trampled down the border fences and streamed into Hong Kong, the Western academic consensus was not that there *was* famine in China, but that there was *not*. Lurking beneath all this scholarly and logical argument, was *a desire not to know, a willingness to collude in deception.*

Those who didn't understand Chinese communism never took Chinese culture seriously enough. They imagined China's

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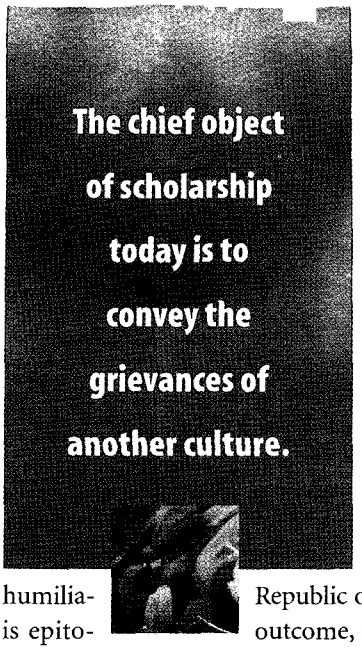
deeply rooted culture could be swept away by twentieth-century innovations and government fiat. My advice to would-be China watchers: Know China first, and don't confuse it with the People's Republic.

Sympathy, Not Grievances

By Hillel Fradkin



One of the most important aspects of contemporary Muslim society is a sense of humiliation and oppression. This is epitomized by the view, still held by a majority of Muslims around the world, that the attacks of September 11 were not and could not have been the work of Osama bin Laden, but were instead perpetrated by the Mossad or the CIA or both.

It was impossible that Muslims were to blame for 9/11, according to the Muslim view, because on the one hand the attacks required careful planning and above all exact timing, while on the other hand Muslims are never on time and are generally disorganized. Hence the attacks must have been the work of the West itself. But why would the West attack itself? The Muslim answer: to provide a pretext for attacks on the Islamic world, like the campaign in Afghanistan.

How should Westerners understand this important cultural datum? Conventional academic study will point to 150 years of colonial or semi-colonial rule. But Muslims themselves say that their sense of humiliation derives not only from the current ignominy of their condition but from the recollection of a more glorious time when it was they rather than the Western world who were powerful. A time when it was they, to put it in the terms of current cultural study, who were the oppressors rather than the oppressed. If we follow the truly crude logic of contemporary cultural study, we might say that Islamic oppression of the West led Westerners to seek a means of overcoming their weakness, which, when successful, led to the oppression of the Muslim world.

Would it not make more sense, in the interests of understanding Islamic culture, to ask what accounts for the decline of the great Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century? Does it not make sense to ask why the Arab world, liberated from colonial rule at the end of WWII, has failed so miserably politically, economically, and militarily ever since? Above all, would it not make sense to ask what aspects of Muslim or Arab culture, independent of the depredations of outsiders, have contributed to these sad consequences?

These questions have been thoughtfully pursued by Bernard Lewis and Fuad Ajami—with great learning, respect, affection, even love. For those efforts, their intellectual colleagues have rewarded them with vilification. They have, however, achieved a level of real understanding of the Islamic world.

The failures of our present orientation should lead us to resurrect an older academic approach: the notion that one should strive for a sympathetic understanding of the object of one's study. "Sympathetic understanding" meant that one would try to understand a culture first exactly as it understood itself. This kind of understanding doesn't always lead to sympathy in the conventional sense of the word. A full and sympathetic understanding of Khomeini and the Islamic Republic of Iran might lead to repulsion. But whatever the outcome, one's conclusion would be based on a clear and accurate understanding. One would also have the satisfaction of knowing that one had tried to be fair and just.

Of course at this point one will hear loud objections. There are many who claim that it is never possible to be fair and just; that one's ultimate interest is always power over the other; that cultural study is necessarily unjust, since it seeks to oppress. From this perspective, it is hard to understand why someone would engage in the study of another culture *except* to advance his own interests. And hard to understand, by the way, what is wrong with that.

Since this idea seems to be written in our hearts by the nature of things it must be impossible for anyone to behave otherwise. But such a conclusion—the abandonment of justice—is too hard for us to bear. Hence such thinking has led to the view that the injustice of studying other cultures must be rectified by empowering the powerless. As a result, the chief object of scholarship today is to convey the grievances of another culture, as if culture was essentially constituted by grievance. All other sentiments, longings, and aspirations enjoy a much-diminished status, if they are not ignored altogether. This, it should be obvious, is greatly impoverished understanding. But this need not be the case.

Islamic discourse was once alien to me. But that did not prevent me from trying and, in my opinion, succeeding in understanding how the Koran viewed the world and especially its sister religions Judaism and Christianity. Unlike our current students of culture, Islam does not claim to be unintelligible to the outsider. It presents an argument and in doing so means not only to command but to persuade. It escapes me, therefore, how one could do justice to Islam by operating on the conventional premises of contemporary academic study.

Having taken so much refuge and comfort in the repetition of simple-minded dogmas, moving away from the flawed modern understanding of Islam will be difficult for most scholars, as well as for those in the mainstream. But there simply is no alternative if we are serious about understanding other cultures.

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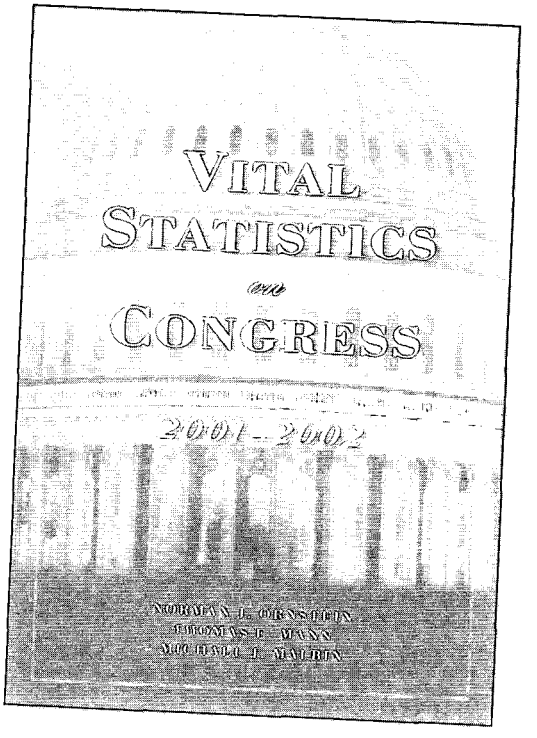

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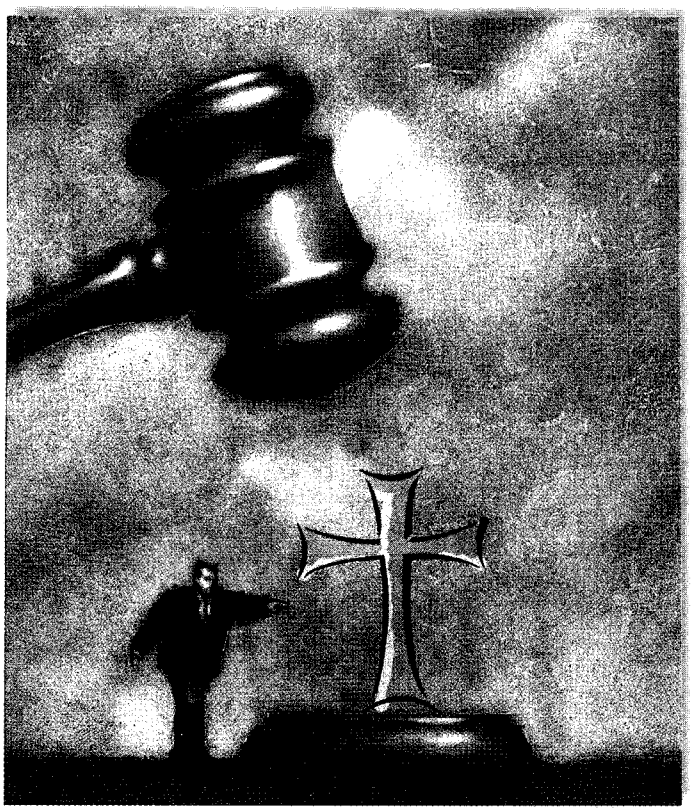

By Naomi Schaefer

Vulnerable under God

Could Religious Colleges Be the Next Institutions Under Legal Attack?

Education scholar Diane Ravitch reiterates in the *New Republic* what must be the best legal argument for school vouchers: "Why are children from impoverished families ineligible for tuition support if they attend St. Joseph's High School, but fully qualified to receive a Pell Grant from the federal government if they enroll in St. Joseph's College a few blocks away? Why is federal funding, and in some cases state funding, readily available to religious-sponsored institutions of higher education?" Ravitch argues that the time has come for primary and secondary school students to enjoy the same privileges as their university counterparts. In *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, the Supreme Court's recent ruling that Cleveland's school-voucher program was indeed Constitutional, the majority opinion, repeatedly citing Pell grants, recognized the power of this argument.

But the obvious, worrisome, yet little-acknowledged problem with this line of reasoning is that it can be turned on its head. Opponents of school-choice programs, frustrated in their defeat, might begin to wonder why federal and state funds are going to religious colleges and universities across the country, not only in the form of indirect support through financial aid, but also through direct grants for construction and research. Indeed, the inconsistencies among the rules regarding public support of religious organizations, from schools to soup kitchens, are glaring. And though this latest decision makes it seem as though the courts are swinging in favor of equal government treatment of religious and secular institutions, none, including religious colleges, is out of the woods yet.

The legal conflicts over federal support for religious higher education began in 1968, when a taxpayer filed a suit challenging the claim of four Catholic colleges in Connecticut to receive grants under the Higher Education Facilities Act for construction of campus buildings. The federal district court, in the resulting case of *Tilton v. Richardson*, ruled in favor of the defendants on the ground that the buildings would not be used for religious purposes. The plaintiff appealed the decision to the Supreme Court, which considered it alongside the parallel cases of *Lemon v. Kurtzman* and *DiCenzo v. Robinson* in 1971.

In *Lemon*, the court ruled that state aid for parochial elementary and secondary schools was un-Constitutional because it would have required "excessive entanglement" on the part of the government to ensure a strict separation between religious and

Naomi Schaefer is writing a book about religious colleges in America.

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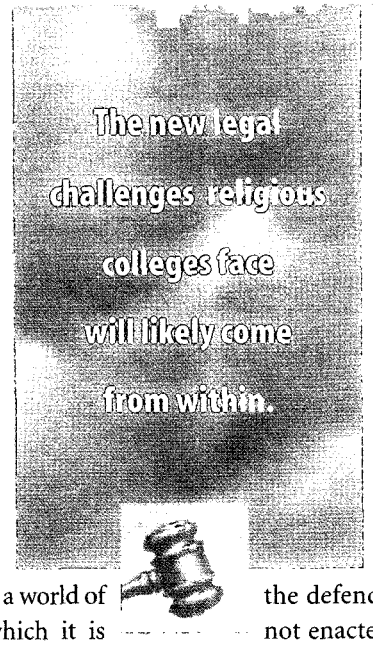

secular education. In *Tilton*, however, the Court upheld the awarding of federal aid to the Catholic colleges. A plurality on the Court distinguished aid to religious colleges from aid to primary and secondary schools on two grounds. First, "college students are less impressionable" and not as susceptible to religious indoctrination. Second, "by their very nature, college and post-graduate courses tend to limit the opportunities for sectarian influence by virtue of their own internal disciplines." These factors helped the court rule that the colleges in question were not "pervasively sectarian" (a phrase that Ed Ericson, English professor at Calvin College, correctly notes "comes from a world of discourse alien to the religious colleges to which it is applied...and applies a negative value judgment from the start").

Over the last 35 years, the first argument has held true (seven-year-olds are still rarely independent thinkers), but the validity of the second one has at least become more doubtful. In fact, the current trend in much of religious higher education is toward the "pervasively sectarian." At colleges ranging in denominational affiliation from Mormon to Jewish to evangelical Christian, many administrations are placing a new emphasis on the integration of faith and learning. Rather than restricting religious education to departments like theology and perhaps philosophy, religious colleges now believe it important for students to see the relevance of their faith commitments in each of their "secular" intellectual pursuits.

So are these schools now on a crash course with groups like Americans United for the Separation of Church and State? Experts offer a cautious "No." Since *Tilton*, in fact, the Supreme Court has gradually moved away from using the pervasively sectarian test. In *Mitchell v. Helms* (2000), even though seven of the nine judges concluded that publicly funded technology at a parochial school might be used for religious purposes as well as secular ones, the Court still ruled in favor of the school. The plurality held that as long as the government aid does not itself involve religious content and is distributed in a Constitutionally permissible manner, its use "to indoctrinate cannot be attributed to the government and is thus not of Constitutional concern."

In a scathing criticism of the "pervasively sectarian" test, the plurality judged it to be not only "unnecessary, but also offensive," and remarked that the test, "born of bigotry, should be buried now." Though he is heartened by these words, Joseph Herlihy, legal counsel for Boston College, warns in his essay in a new collection titled *The Future of Religious Colleges*, "Catholic university administrators should not throw caution to the wind based on this extraordinary rejection of the doctrine of pervasive sectarianism." But the case has gotten stronger since Herlihy's statement was published. In *Zelman*, the majority, which does not even mention "pervasive sectarianism," holds that even though 96 percent of the funds go toward religious schools, neither the "purpose" nor the "effect" of the program is religious in nature, and thereby it does not violate the Establishment clause.

Just before the *Zelman* decision, Washington's state supreme court handed a similar victory to religious colleges under its jurisdiction. In 1995, the ACLU along with a Washington State University professor sued the state on the grounds that its Education Opportunity Grants were supporting church-affiliated colleges. The plaintiffs cited a clause in the state's constitution mandating that schools that receive public money should be free of sectarian control. The court ruled in favor of the defendants, explaining that the grant program "was not enacted with the 'objective' of aiding religious establishment" and has no "religious purpose."

A few months before that, in *Columbia Union College v. Clarke*, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals effectively overturned a district court's decision denying a Seventh-Day Adventist college eligibility for assistance from a Maryland construction grant program on the ground that the education provided by the school was pervasively sectarian.

According to Basil Thomson, associate general counsel for Baylor University, a Baptist school, the courts have become more "lenient" in their understanding of how public funds can be used, particularly for construction, on religious college campuses. A few years ago, if a school used a tax-exempt municipal bond to put up a building, "students couldn't have a prayer meeting in the building." Now, Thomson explains, the courts have held that religion "just can't be the dominant purpose of the facility." Thomson believes that the cause of religious colleges was helped in this area by the Supreme Court's 1995 decision in *Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia*, which held that UVA was required to fund a Christian student newspaper since it funded secular student newspapers. If a public university was required to support religious organizations, Thomson argues, a religious school can't be faulted for doing the same thing.

In view of the *Rosenberger* decision and the diminishing stock placed by courts in the "pervasively sectarian" test, it seems unlikely that the next few years will bring many taxpayer-launched suits against aid to religious colleges. More likely, the legal challenges faced by such colleges will come from within, probably in the area of employment. Most seriously religious colleges favor hiring members of their own faith, but they have to tiptoe around a good deal of regulation in order to do this.

The simplest case of this sort arises when a college receives a publicly funded research grant. According to Doug Laycock, law professor at the University of Texas, if a job is funded directly by a government grant (tenured faculty would not be considered in this category because they were hired before the grant and will still be at the school afterward), the school cannot discriminate in its hiring decision for the job. Laycock cites the recently publi-

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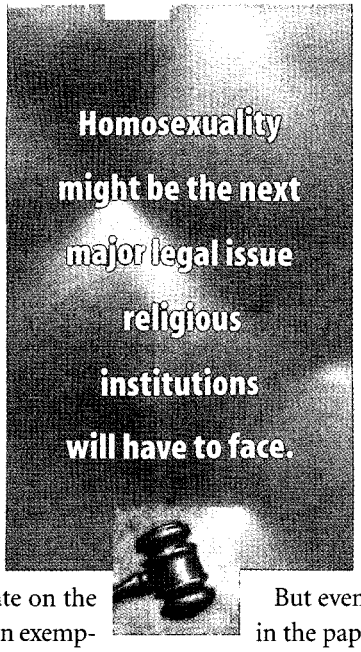
cized case of a woman fired by the Salvation Army because of her association with the Wiccan "religion." Laycock explains why the judge found in her favor: "[The Salvation Army] hired the person on a grant. She persuaded a federal judge that it would be un-Constitutional for [the organization] to discriminate when they were using federal money to fund the position."



Religious colleges must also be vigilant about their legal standing while hiring for permanent positions. Under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, employers of more than 15 people are forbidden to discriminate on the basis of race, religion, or gender. The law contains an exemption for institutions sponsored by, controlled by, or affiliated with a religious denomination, which are allowed to discriminate on the basis of religion. Laycock believes that even colleges without sponsoring churches can earn this exemption, as long as they "can easily demonstrate that they are seriously religious."

One approach taken by many religious colleges is to require employees to sign a profession of faith. Some are quite specific, like that of Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, which requires faculty to agree with the tenets of the Christian Reformed Church. Others, such as Westmont College in Santa Barbara, California more closely resemble the Apostles' Creed. While these professions can serve as mission statements for the college, informing prospective students and their parents what the school is about, they can also serve an important legal purpose. Faculty who sign these professions of faith agree as part of their employment contract to place restrictions on their teaching and publishing, and as a recent article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* points out, "There's little [legal] recourse for faculty members who run afoul of them.... If a college claims that a professor fails to meet its religious standards, and the professor disagrees, a court typically defers to the college."

Boston lawyer Harvey Silverglate is not a fan of professions of faith. From a legal standpoint, Silverglate believes the professions are acceptable "in certain circumstances, and not in others." "If religious profession is relevant to the course," he argues, then surely the First Amendment gives such a school the right to require a profession of faith." He thinks "it's questionable for an institution to insist on a profession of faith by a math professor, where the issue of faith is not relevant." Calvin professor Ed Ericson believes Silverglate's view is too narrow, explaining that it "doesn't wash in the evangelical world, where all truth is God's truth...[even in a discipline] as far away from religion as math." And Ericson may have the law on his side. Douglas Laycock believes that the Title VII exemption means religious colleges can "prefer members of their own faith in hiring everyone, including the janitor."

Joseph Herlihy of the Jesuit-run Boston College (not speaking on behalf of the BC administration) tells me that an institution like his would never adopt a profession of faith, and adds that the school does not require its faculty to be Catholic at all. "I don't even know if we would defend [a decision to hire a Catholic over a non-Catholic even in the theology department, which] is seen as academic, and its job is not to proselytize," he says. The one exception to BC's nondiscrimination policy, Herlihy believes, would occur "if a Jesuit applied [for a faculty position]. We might consider that a bona fide occupational qualification." The distinction, according to Herlihy, is significant because "getting students exposed to Jesuit priests...we see very much as part of our mission."

But even BC may not be off the hook. The rules set forth in the papal document, *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* (1990), depending on how the American bishops enforce them, might compel Herlihy to defend "discriminatory" hiring practices. This particularly might result from *Ex Corde's* dictate that Catholic theology professors at Catholic colleges must have certification from their local bishop, and that a majority of the overall faculty at such colleges should be Catholics. While acknowledging that some of the "norms for the governance of Catholic universities 'intersect' (or, according to some, 'conflict') with the competing pressures of applicable civil law," Herlihy does not seem worried. Citing Title VII, he observes, "I think the concern [over whether *Ex Corde* was compatible with anti-discrimination laws] was not arrived at independently of the overall evaluation" of the decree. Rather, he suspects that the Catholic educators who opposed *Ex Corde* to begin with were needlessly sounding legal alarm bells.

Still, Title VII is not the end of the issue for religious colleges. As Laycock points out, an employee might sue under a state law rather than the federal one. States usually have their own non-discrimination statutes, and some of them, like Ohio's, do not include exemptions for religiously affiliated institutions. In Laycock's estimation, "If you're a conservative Christian school in a jurisdiction that prohibits sex-orientation discrimination [and you fire someone for engaging in homosexual behavior], you can be sued under that statute." In fact, Basil Thomson of Baylor believes that homosexuality is the next major legal issue religious institutions will have to face. Ed Ericson agrees: "The time will come when some faculty member [at Calvin] or at Wheaton will come out of the closet, and then it will be very interesting to see what happens."

Thomson thinks that if religious colleges are sued for discriminating on the basis of sexual orientation, they can win on the ground that they have the right to interpret the tenets of their own faith. Laycock points out that homosexual behavior might be a violation of the employee's contract. (By signing a profession of faith, employees agree to a certain Bible interpretation.) A long-term solution would be to lobby the state legislature or local governing body to add an explicit exemption for

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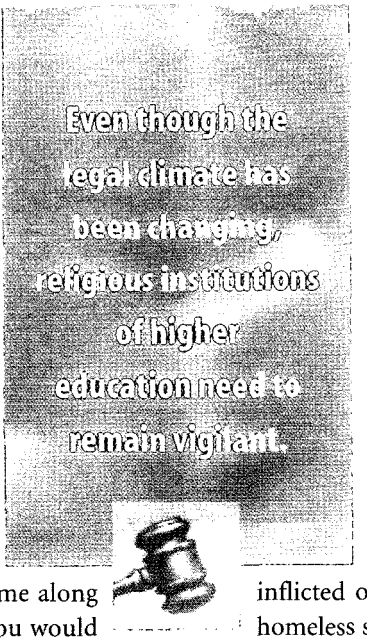
religious schools and colleges to the anti-discrimination ordinance.

But, Laycock warns, "there is a lot of resistance to these exemptions from regulatory agencies. They're always looking for ways to narrow the scope of exemption." According to Laycock, there have been cases where employees suing under sexual orientation statutes have successfully argued that their dismissal cause cannot have been merely religious discrimination, because sexual orientation "is a form of behavior, and religion is matter of belief." Meanwhile, Thomson anticipates a different spin on this distinction: "What if someone came along who was not a *practicing* homosexual? Then you would say, 'Well, what have they done?' That's more of a problem. That's like Jimmy Carter saying, 'I've lusted in my heart.' What do you do?"



Even if religious colleges can counter some of these tortured arguments and win the suits brought against them, the worrisome factor for Thomson is "politically and from a public-relations perspective" what kind of effect such suits will have on the schools. "On the one hand, in holding up its beliefs [with respect to homosexuality] Baylor may offend a whole lot of people who may be Baptist." Still, he believes, however, that most Baptists and surely the officials of the Baptist conventions "would say, 'Go for it and fight it all the way to the end.'"

In fact, as James Burtchaell has argued in *The Dying of the Light*, sponsoring churches have often helped their religious colleges retain religious commitments in the face of external criticism and even legal attacks. But there is one area in which some churches have encouraged their affiliated colleges to be a bit timid: pursuing government money. A number of years ago, Baylor University's college of medicine needed money to expand. According to Thomson, "the state of Texas said, 'Unless they expand, we're going to open something to compete with them.'" To encourage the college to expand, the state offered it some government appropriations. According to Thomson, Baylor's administration wanted to accept, but "the Baptist convention said, 'No way. We think the government will end up controlling what you do.'" In the end, the school had to incorporate separately from the Baptist convention in order to receive the money.

From Illinois, Wheaton College provost Stan Jones e-mails me: "Wheaton currently (and for at least the last 30 years) does not apply for or accept governmental grants of any kind except for financial aid that goes directly to our students." He explains, "This policy of our Board is grounded in a desire to be free of any restrictions on hiring and any other aspects of the operation of college that might or would be entailed with accepting governmental grants." Wheaton's policy is hardly unique. Colleges like Grove City and Hillsdale have also forsaken public funds, for the purpose of maintaining their institutional autonomy. Thomson notes, however, that losing federal funds would be devastating for a school like Baylor. "We take in about $20 to $30 million a year in financial aid. Think about what kind of endowment you would have to have to replace that in the case that government were to say, 'If you are going to take our funds, you can't discriminate.' Well, our endowment certainly is not large enough to [make up for] that."

The various legal issues discussed here show that religious colleges have not escaped the kind of government scrutiny inflicted on every other faith-based organization—from homeless shelters to elementary schools. Even though the legal climate has been changing, and seems more hospitable toward religious groups than at any point in the last few decades, religious institutions of higher education need to remain vigilant. With respect to taking public funds for research, construction, and tuition aid programs, religious colleges should seriously consider their legal standing, and then begin work on financial contingency plans in case state, local, or federal government agencies try to use the purse strings to limit the schools' autonomy.

But religious schools must keep in mind that refusing public money does not protect them from all legal threats. They can be sued for hiring discrimination under many state and local statutes, for instance. But rather than allowing these legal issues to intimidate them, religious colleges must be advocates on the front lines, litigating, if necessary, to ensure that the exemptions to non-discrimination laws for religious institutions are created for those statutes that don't have them and are not narrowed in any way for those that do.

Moreover, given that the threats to their autonomy are present regardless, religious colleges should not abandon public support. If, as so many of these schools claim, their mission is to send students out into the secular world to bring a serious ethical perspective to law, medicine, education, and government, they may weaken that endeavor by refusing government funds, thereby letting secular America continue to treat them as mere fringe groups unworthy of mainstream support.

In fact, students at religious colleges are often more academically motivated, more ethically reflective about their professions, and more civic-minded than their secular counterparts. As John DiIulio (former director of the White House Office of Faith-Based Initiatives) argues, faith-based organizations should receive the same consideration for government grants as secular private groups as a matter of civil rights. Religious colleges and universities should not hesitate to seek public support for the vital role they play in educating the nation's young citizens. The latest Supreme Court ruling, effectively mandating equal treatment for religious organizations, should provide the necessary standing to carry on this fight.

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AP Photo/Shizuo Kambayashi

Students take a break outside a classroom building at Japan's elite but decrepit Tokyo University.

By Jane Barnes Mack-Cozzo

If You Think We Have Problems...

Japan's Inferior University System

After more than 12 years of living and teaching in Japan, I'm still amazed at the plethora of myths and clichés surrounding Japanese culture. Perhaps the most egregiously false of these perceptions is that of Japan's "superior" educational system.

The Japanese educational system does, indeed, work differently from those in the West. That Japanese elementary and high school students are assigned hours of daily homework and sent to *juku* (cram schools), is well known among educated Westerners. It's also well known that so-called *kyoiku* mamas ("education mamas"), ambitious for their children, have them enrolled in pre-kindergarten cram schools almost as soon as they're born. These schools cost nearly $750 a month for two days a week. Over a quarter of pre-schoolers attend such cram schools in order to be admitted to a prestigious kindergarten. From there, in the "escalator system," pupils are virtually assured admission to primary, middle, and high school. This, in turn, facilitates acceptance at a corresponding university.

All this effort is expended in preparation for the vaunted and near-sacred university entrance examination, the successful completion of which will determine the course of these young people's lives. "Examination hell," as it is known in Japan, is considered a small price to pay for admission to a national university such as Todai (Tokyo University) or one of the *roku dai* (Six Best) private universities in the country.

The ritual associated with these exams is treated with an almost religious solemnity. During my years of teaching at Japanese universities, I was able to witness this annual event firsthand. It's different from the way we do things, but it isn't better.

Consider, for starters, the English language exams. Selected members of examination committees are charged with writing the all-important English language questions. Quite literally, hours are spent analyzing everything from usage to punctuation. We *gaijin* (foreigners) are asked to serve on these committees, ostensibly for native speaker input.

Yet we native speakers find ourselves in a verbal tug-of-war with Japanese *sensei* (professors), who insist that our usage is incorrect. These same professors, however, don't even conduct their upper-level classes in English. One listening-

Jane Barnes Mack-Cozzo was a professor of American Studies and English at Japanese universities for over 12 years. She now divides her time between California and Germany.

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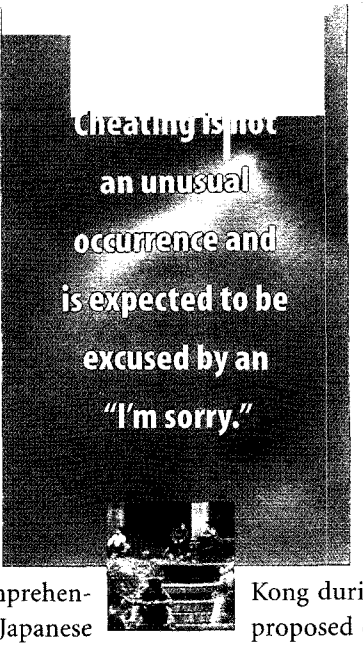
comprehension question concerned the town of Carmel, California. I corrected the town's pronunciation from the accent on the first syllable to the accent on the second, but this carried no weight, even though I am a native Californian. The professors' Japanese dictionary stated that the first usage was correct.

All of this pointless pedantry results in students memorizing grammatical rules but failing to acquire speaking proficiency. Those who are admitted to a university have already had six years of English, but can hardly speak a word because their study of the language is oriented to passing the grammar and reading-comprehension questions on the entrance exams. Indeed, Japanese scores on the international TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) exam are among the lowest in the world.



Katagana, the system of characters the Japanese use for foreign words, also holds students back. Because katagana conforms to the constrictions of Japanese pronunciation, English words are consistently mispronounced. Years ago, a student mentioned she had seen the American film "Buru Berubeto." After many requests to repeat the title, I deduced she was talking about the film *Blue Velvet*. (Katagana changes V to B and L to R.)

Once students gain admission to university, virtually all learning and study cease. What passes for education would be a source of embarrassment to almost any other university system in the world. My colleagues have had students who attend perhaps two classes during the entire school year and then show up for the final exam thinking that if they are allowed to take it, they will automatically pass the course—knowing full well that attendance was mandatory. A favorite explanation is "if I don't pass this course, I can't graduate." The administration will often back the student and simply override the failing grade.

The students who do attend class exhibit behavior befitting youngsters half their age. Boys and girls studiously avoid sitting next to each other, giggling when they are asked to do so. Every time this happened, we *gaijin* were immediately reminded of our own behavior—when we were in the second grade. Their disengagement from learning is so fundamental that they often pack themselves in the farthest back seats of the classroom, so they can gossip, sleep, or use cell phones undisturbed.

Most Japanese *sensei* tolerate such behavior, sitting at the desk in the front of the classroom and burying their heads in the textbook from which they read. They rarely get up, even to write on the blackboard. They are poorly prepared for their classes and rarely comment on student papers.

Many students routinely neglect to bring either textbooks or writing materials to class, and a request to write anything at all will send them scrambling to borrow pencils and paper from the few students who have them. Homework is completed only under threat of a failing grade or a worse consequence, because it interferes with the all-important social-club activities. Cheating is not an unusual occurrence and is expected to be excused by an "I'm sorry" (as is almost every other infraction in Japanese society).

Weekly classes are officially 90 minutes long, but seldom last more than 70 minutes. When I first started teaching at a Japanese university, I wasn't aware of this "tradition," and I asked one of the professors if, as a new foreign instructor, I shouldn't teach the entire 90 minutes.

"Oh, no, *sensei*. That simply isn't done. If you do, it'll just cause resentment."

Later, when I had planned to go to Hong Kong during the December break, I discovered that the proposed departure date conflicted with the last class. I mentioned this to one of my Japanese colleagues, and he chastised me for giving it a second thought. "Of course, you should simply cancel your classes on that day."

"But isn't that a bit irregular?" I asked.

"No, *sensei*, don't worry. Besides, the students expect it. In fact, you should have at least two *kyuko* (cancellations) a semester. That's normal."

At one school where I taught, the chairman of the English department organized a summer course at a sister school in Tennessee for his students. He explained to me how he would motivate his students: "I'll let the girls who speak English hold the teddy bear." One Japanese psychology professor rationalized this arrested development by stating that "college students make good use of the prolonged adolescence while enjoying campus life." He viewed universities as a kind of "moratorium" playing a major role in helping students restructure their lives. In other words, the childishness which is so endemic in the society as a whole (Douglas MacArthur called Japan a "nation of 12-year-olds"), is reinforced perhaps because the rest of these students' lives is so asphyxiatingly programmed.

At the same time, creative original thinking is actively discouraged, for it goes against the *wa* ("harmony"). An oft-quoted Japanese saying that "the nail that stands up must be hammered down" reflects the all-pervasive conformity of the society. Small wonder that Japan, despite having a massive, technologically advanced economy, has produced only eight Nobel Prize winners. Many of them left the country to do their research.

Donald Ritchie, a well-known expert on Japanese culture, once remarked that the Japanese lack a sense of inner struggle, of irony, of dialectic, of contradiction—all qualities that are vigorously repressed. Those few individuals who dare to "make themselves visible" are shunned. It comes as no surprise that many observers view Japanese students as not only naive but vapid. Yet for the most part, these students remain cooperative and congenial, and in today's world, that goes a long way toward redeeming them.

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A Reunion

By Karina Rollins

We were best friends in grade school. True best friends—the kind where you're virtually inseparable, and, if alone, classmates asked, Where's the other? Spending the night at each other's homes was the greatest treat. Her name was Andrea.

We attended an American school in Germany, where our fathers were both stationed with the military. After fifth grade, Andrea's dad was sent back to the States. She promised she would write as soon as she knew her new permanent address.

I waited. And waited. The letter never came. At some point, my father, through military channels, was able to get her family's address. But by the time I tried to reach her, that address was no longer valid. This was in the days before e-mail and the wonders of the Internet, and options for a 13-year-old to find a lost friend were limited. After several years, I accepted that I wouldn't hear from her. But I never forgot her, and always, I wondered: Why?

The first time I came to live in the U.S. was in 1989, when I moved to Maryland for my last two years of college. Shortly after I arrived, I resumed my search for Andrea by calling directory assistance, in Georgia, where I knew she had lived for a while, and in other states with big military bases like Texas and North Carolina. Nothing.

Fast-forward to 1996. I'm living in New York, working as an editor at *National Review*. That year, we get new computers and make the leap to the cyber age. My colleagues and I crowd around the computers to try out the Internet.

Still a bit bewildered about exactly what we should be trying to do on this great World Wide Web, a co-worker stumbles across phonebook listings for the entire country, available right there, at our fingertips. "Anyone want to find someone?" he asks. It hits me. "Yes," I said. "I'm looking for my best friend."

She could have married and changed her last name, but I had always remembered her father's name, complete with middle initial, so we tried that first. A single address matched; it was in Seattle. Could this be it? I called the phone number right away. A machine came on announcing that I had reached "Harry and Sabine." Sabine? Yes, that was her mom's name, wasn't it? I left a message. Still, I didn't dare to hope.

When I came home that night, I found a note from my roommate telling me that a Sabine from Seattle had called and was very excited to talk to me. A shiver ran through my body. Then I became giddy. I had actually found her! I danced around the living room. My fingers trembled as I dialed the number 3,000 miles away. A friendly woman answered, and I announced it was me. "Karina!" she exclaimed. "How are you, dear? How did you find us?" My mind reeled. It had been 17 years. Overwhelmed, all I could do was babble "Is it you? Is it really you?" "Yes of course it's me!" Andrea's mother exclaimed. She asked me about where I live, about my job, how my mother is doing, and I answered dutifully. But my brain was pounding: What about Andrea? Why doesn't she say something about Andrea?

The longer we talked, a feeling of horrible, terrible dread started to spread over me. Something awful must have happened. Had she become estranged from the family? Had she become addicted to drugs? Had she disappeared? Finally, I couldn't bear it anymore and blurted out "Do you think Andrea still remembers me?" Her answer: "I'm sure she would, honey, if she were still alive."

No. God, no. I hadn't yet adjusted to finally finding her after all those years, and now I had already lost her again. "I'm so sorry" I stammered as the tears spilled from my eyes. Andrea had been hit by a car. She was 14 years old.

But that heart-wrenching phone conversation was not the end. My best friend's mother wanted me as a part of her life—which is one of the greatest gifts I have ever received. I hadn't lost Andrea completely after all. We continued to call each other, and a year later, I visited Seattle for the first time. That visit cemented our relationship. We see parts of Andrea in each other.

It is a wonderful feeling, six years later, to answer the phone and hear: "Hello dear. It's Sabine."

Karina Rollins is a TAE *senior editor.*

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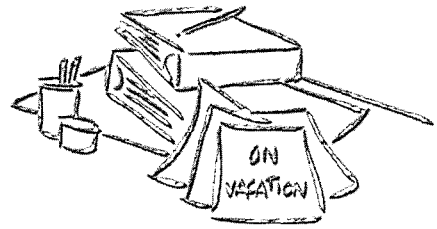
Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero



School's Out!

As the dog days of summer stretch out in all their yawning glory, you may be sure that somewhere, a man with an advanced degree and a mean streak is muttering under furrowed brow, "Why aren't those kids in school?"

The average length of the American public school term is 180 days, not much more than the 173 days of the 1935-36 school year. Summer vacation remains the golden season of childhood, the mellow months when boys and girls store up memories and explore the fields and hills and streets where they live. But like the metric system and soccer, year-round schooling is a nuisance cause that busybodies will not give up.

Proponents of the August schoolday have frequently regarded children as the ductile means to some great national end, whether economic or military. In 1960, Grace and Fred M. Hechinger warned readers of the *New York Times*, "The Soviet pupil manages to spend about the same number of hours in school during his ten-year program as the American student does in twelve." (These well-drilled pupils would go on to build the Mir space station and conquer Afghanistan.)

The Hechingers referred to American children as an "army of intellectual manpower." In *A Nation at Risk*, the ballyhooed 1983 report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, Americans were accused of committing "unilateral educational disarmament" because we permitted our kids to spend their Julys running through strawberry fields rather than sitting in a classroom under artificial light reading textbooks about the environment.

Once the Soviet Union collapsed into its deserved junkheap, the summer-school scolds discovered the Japanese, who incarcerate their children in school for 240 days a year. The old bogeyboy of the regimented Russian, learning to design Sputniks while Johnny American wastes his summer catching frogs and playing baseball, gave way to the grim Asian youth mastering calculus before the onset of puberty. "International competition" became the rationale for year-round school.

Today, it is the alleged superiority of school to family that drives the summer-school bus. "Americans don't even know what to do with their children during the summertime," asserts the technocratic economist Lester Thurow.

A "significant learning loss" takes place in summer, or so we are told by the killjoys of the National Association for Year-Round Education. *Time* magazine, which can always be counted on to embrace the statist fad of 40 minutes ago, notes that "the case for the longer school year is particularly acute in the inner cities, where family ties are weak." Minority parents are not to be trusted with their offspring, who are better off in the clutches of mother state. Or as the superintendent of schools in Newark, New Jersey said in 1917 after his district abolished summer vacation, "the ten weeks of summertime given over to idleness and unsupervised activities and associations involves great waste, if not positive peril."

The two sides in this debate don't even speak the same language. The year-round school advocates—credentialed "experts"

Summer vacation remains the golden season of childhood, the mellow months where boys and girls store up memories and explore the fields and hills and streets where they live.

—use the number-studded jargon of the bureaucrat, while the opponents speak in the language of family and love.

Of course there are practical objections to 12-month schooling: Custodians need unoccupied buildings for repairs and painting; air conditioning is prohibitively expensive in muggy climes; summer vacation is so embedded in the culture that only a totalitarian could root it out.

Defenders of the summer sun, of the family picnic, of innocent play, often wax poetic. In 1972, during a previous propaganda push for year-round school, Richard C. Whipple, a bank manager from Sprague, Washington wrote to *Nation's Business*: "Are we so old that we have forgotten the feeling on those warm days at the end of May when we were looking forward to the summer months? .... Let's give these children time to be kids and be with their parents; to lie on the summer grass and watch the clouds drifting by; to think out their small problems and have time of their own. We push, push the younger generation and leave them no time."

Laze on, August.

—Bill Kauffman

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Working Lunch

Wisdom...is social. She seeks her fellows—Thomas Jefferson

Walter Berns

Patriot Practitioner

World War II Navy veteran, scholar of Constitutional law and political philosophy, prolific author, patriot, and gentleman—those are just a few terms to describe AEI's old-school resident scholar Walter Berns. Mr. Berns sat down with TAE *senior editors Karina Rollins and Eli Lehrer to discuss the past, present, and future of our union, which, as the author of* Making Patriots *explains, is far from certain.*

TAE: What do you make of the recent ruling by California's Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals that the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance are un-Constitutional?

BERNS: The notion of extreme separation of church and state first gained real emphasis in the nineteenth century, fueled by anti-Catholicism. Hundreds of thousands of Roman Catholics immigrated here, and American Protestants felt threatened. But this idea of "separation" has no basis in the Constitution of the United States. We'll see what the Supreme Court has to say about the Ninth Circuit's ruling, because there will be an appeal.

Similar anti-religion suits have sprung from opposition to public display of the Ten Commandments. These are connected to a change in the practice of Constitutional law. It used to be that one had to show some particular interest in a law or practice before one could file a suit objecting to it. In legal jargon, one had to have legal "standing" on the issue. But then the courts relaxed the standing requirement, and made it easy for anybody to go to court to protest such things on essentially political grounds.

TAE: Since September 11 you have been very optimistic about the state of patriotism in this country. You've said you were surprised, actually, at how this country came together, and how there is now real unity—on acts ranging from showing the flag to giving blood. Do you still feel that way?

BERNS: I have spent almost all of my adult life in the academic community, which is not noted for its public display of patriotic sentiments, so I was pleasantly surprised by the public response to 9/11, particularly the extent to which the flag was displayed. But a more severe test may come later, and one cannot be sure whether all the Americans who are now waving the flag will be willing to suffer more pain.

TAE: There has been criticism of President Bush for failing to emphasize the possible need for sacrifice in his rhetoric. Something more than flying to Disneyland may be needed to beat the terrorists, no?

BERNS: You know, there is not much that average citizens can do right now. We could return to celebrating Memorial Day and other holidays as actual holidays, not just as three-day weekends. More seriously, we might tie federal loans and grants for university education to required service for the country. The original GI Bill when I was a beneficiary gave you subsidies for university education in return for services the student had already provided. What might be done now is to offer the subsidy in return for the promise of future service. Make all these grants conditional on something like 18 months service in the military.

It is not certain whether all the Americans now waving the flag will be willing to suffer more pain.

The President might say more to persuade the American people that we are in a war that needs to be won. I never had any doubt, even after Pearl Harbor, that we would win World War II. But I'm not so sure now, as I look at some of the difficulties facing us, that we will win our current struggle easily. I at least think the war will go on for a long time, and we have to be prepared for that. The President has a responsibility to remind us of that, and of the sacrifices we may have to make. Up to this point, the main sacrifice most Americans have made is seeing a decline in the value of their investments in the stock market. I gather there has been no increase in military enlistments since 9/11.

World War II was so different from our situation now. Men were lining up to join the Army; people tried to conceal physical ailments in order to get in. The whole sentiment was to get in. Men walking around had to explain why they weren't in the service. There was concern about facing public censure. It's very different today.

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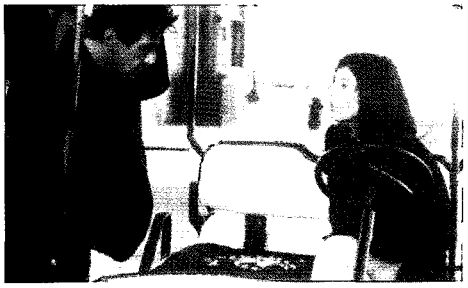
Now Playing



Catherine Keener and Al Pacino in *Simone*.

How the Celebrity Cult Might Keep Movie Stars Real

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The two prescient movies that have sprung from the mind of filmmaker Andrew Niccol—*Gattaca* and *The Truman Show*—both celebrate the spirit of the individual. His latest picture, *Simone*, satirizes that spirit's antithesis: the cult of celebrity.

Just as *Gattaca* explored genetic meddling the year Dolly let out her first "baa," and just as *The Truman Show* anticipated reality television before the original "Survivor" crew was dumped on that island, so is *Simone*, which Niccol wrote and directed, set in a possibly soon-to-be-familiar future. The movie focuses on a desperate director named Viktor Taransky, played by Al Pacino, who creates a computer-generated actress for his troubled film and passes her off as a real star.

Needless to say, his stunt is a success. A Frankenstein's bride culled from the body parts, personalities, and vocal inflections of screen goddesses past, Simone becomes the toast of Tinseltown. Her inability to make public appearances only adds to her mystique. The fact that she can't be trotted out for the talk show circuit creates the sort of vacuum our celebrity-obsessed culture abhors. The gossip rags clamor and the paparazzi scamper, all in a desperate effort to grab a piece of Simone, played by model-turned-actress Rachel Roberts.

In many ways, *Simone* is a logical extension of Niccol's earlier efforts. In 1997's *Gattaca*, his writing-directing debut, an aspiring astronaut who was a "natural birth" competes with those whose parents genetically designed them to be the smartest and strongest of the human race. In the end, it's the hero's determination—a genetic wild card—that puts him over the top. *The Truman Show*, for which Niccol wrote the script, roots for another man whose destiny has seemingly been predetermined: a mild-mannered insurance salesman who discovers that his entire life has been broadcast as an around-the-clock television series. If *The Truman Show* considered how celebrity status obliterates the individual—Truman, played by Jim Carrey, was literally adopted by the show's creator and figuratively adopted by the millions of viewers who watched him every night—then *Simone* takes the concept one step further. Here, we don't even need a real person to worship. It's the very notion of celebrity that is so esteemed.

Consider the lengths people go to in the movie to get close to Simone. A celebrity magazine, whose leech-like editor and writer are played by Pruitt Taylor Vince and Jason Schwartzman, turns to satellite photography in an attempt to find her. Later, when a woman is mistaken for Simone at the premiere of one of Viktor's films, the rushing mob sends a good dozen people flailing into a pool.

That all of this perverse attention is lavished on a fraud is, of course, the movie's central joke. In the corners of the film, Niccol creates complimentary visual gags that riff on the faux nature of Hollywood in general. Early on, Viktor laments the power that today's movie stars have over directors and reminisces with his producer/ex-wife, played by Catherine Keener, about their early, independent filmmaking days back East. "Those days in New York [are] over," she replies coldly, as they stand on a gargantuan outdoor set replicating a Big Apple street.

Of course, Viktor isn't immune to the allure of celebrity either. He may have created Simone for artistic purposes—"She considers herself an instrument," he offers as explanation for her reluctance to pose for magazine covers—but before long he's signed Simone up not only for those covers, but also for a perfume deal and a budding career as a Jennifer Lopez-like pop star. Her hit song? A cover, naturally, of "(You Make Me Feel Like) A Natural Woman."

All of this underlines the movie's message that celebrity itself is a two-way fraud—both a manipulation of an individual identity for mass consumption and a subjugation of the individual personalities of the masses. In other words, to worship stars—to keep careful track, say, of the dental braces worn by Tom Cruise—is to deny not only the stars, but ourselves, a meaningful identity. After all, how can we create our own life when we're trying to live through someone else's?

Could a future of openly computer-generated actors relieve people of the addiction of living vicariously through movie stars? Perhaps. But, as *Simone* suggests, this society's craving for actual celebrities may far surpass its love for cinema, and such a future may never arrive.

—Josh Larsen

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the University Economist

Wealth for the Lazy

An alien explorer might stumble upon tiny Oberlin College near Cleveland, Ohio and be astonished by what he sees. The school has a collection of Steinway pianos that is the largest in the world and an art collection that includes masterpieces by Klimt, Matisse, Monet, Rubens, and others. All this is contained in buildings that rival the great palaces of Europe in beauty. And Oberlin's endowment? A healthy $600 million dollars.

An Earthling, however, would not be surprised at all. Indeed, we are accustomed to extraordinary concentrations of wealth at our academic institutions. Harvard University's endowment approaches $20 billion, and ten others have endowments above $4 billion. And forget about mutual-fund accruements: The cash flows into these higher-education funds are awe-inspiring. Fifteen universities have begun capital campaigns with the objective of raising $1 billion or more. Contributions to colleges and universities now make up about 12 percent of total charitable contributions in the U.S.

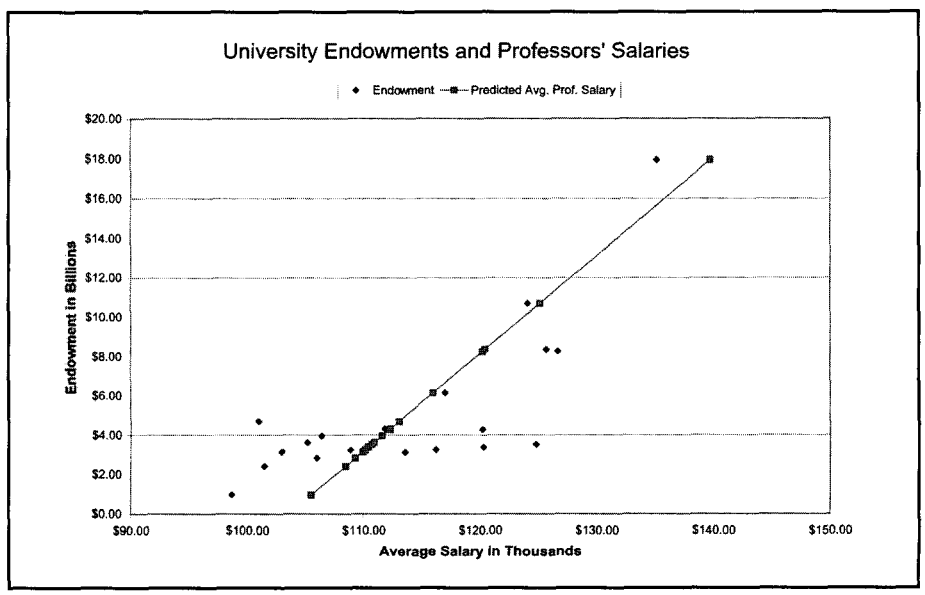
These facts raise a number of interesting questions. Why is it that individuals voluntarily contribute so much money to these institutions? What are the economic effects of these enormous bequests? And are universities sucking money away from better charitable causes?

Since economists will model the economics of brushing your teeth, it's probably not surprising that they have explored these questions as well. Indeed, studies in this field date back more than 200 years, when Adam Smith first devoted a healthy portion of *The Wealth of Nations* to the study of the economics of university endowments.

Why do institutions of higher learning acquire such a large share of the charitable pie? People undoubtedly feel a strong sense of loyalty to the schools that started them on their career paths. Successful and wealthy alums, not surprisingly, are often the most loyal of all. Schools also provide a number of worthy social services, such as scholarships to promising low-income students, and perform research that may have a high social value. There is, however, a selfish aspect to the calculation as well. Your alma mater says a lot about you, and its evolution over your lifetime can have a significant impact on your life. If it rises up from mediocrity to become a highly respected academic institution (Boston University comes to mind), you acquire a warm glow that influences everything from cocktail party conversations to job prospects. If the school goes broke and disappears, its alums suffer a powerful loss of status. All of these effects are magnified by a school's clever emphasis on legacy. Not only will you suffer if your alma mater falls back into the pack, but your children will as well.

How powerful are professors at extracting rents from their universities? Very!

So the formula is perfect. Contribute money to your alma mater, and you simultaneously help cure cancer, promote social justice, and maximize



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the odds of increasing your personal prestige. But make no mistake: The prestige effect has real social costs. While education is surely valuable to society, it likely does not make sense to pour tons of money into cancer research institutes in every small town across America. Fundamental cancer research is likely best supported by contributions to charitable organizations that retain experts to steer the money to the most promising research.

The large donations have other costs as well. The main problem was anticipated in 1776 by Smith, who wrote, "The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished more or less the necessity of application in the teachers." A large endowment creates a moat around the university that shields it from criticism by the rest of society. The protected and cloistered environment allows professors to grow more and more out of touch. Such was the case then, when Smith observed that "in the university of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretense of teaching." Such is also the case now. Not only are many students taught hokum, but they are taught hokum by graduate students. A distinguished colleague of mine who is a professor of economics recently went *ten years* without teaching a single undergraduate class.

These observations are likely to shock parents who dole out upwards of $30,000 per year to pay for their children's education. The fact is, however, that what Adam Smith wrote 200 years ago is still true. "The discipline of colleges and universities is in general contrived, not for the benefit of the students, but for the interest, or more properly speaking, for the ease of the masters." The accompanying chart documents Smith's case quite convincingly. The graph plots university endowments for the 20 largest U.S. institutions (plus Swarthmore, my alma mater) against the average full professor's salary. The salary increases sharply (and statistically significantly) with the endowment. How powerful are professors at extracting rents from their universities? Very!

A large endowment creates a moat around the university that shields it from criticism by the rest of society.

All this may explain why universities often evolve into left-wing, politically correct social clubs. The masters hold the checkbook and dole out the diplomas with little outside discipline.

Smith preferred the compensation of professors on a *per capita* basis, contingent upon the willingness of students to take their courses. In other words, create a free market for scholarship, and let the prices adjust themselves. A system like this could clearly improve current circumstances—but not by much. The problem is that the ultimate value of an Oberlin degree lies in the fact that Oberlin is a selective college that attracts smart students. Most employers base their hiring decisions on interviews and GPAs. It might make little difference whether a student spends his time studying Plato or Play-Doh.

But the importance of endowments in the overall charitable pie has increasingly become a pressing issue. Assuming a 10 percent rate of return on its endowment, Harvard currently earns more than $100,000 per year on its stash for every student (graduate and undergraduate) attending the university—enough to cover the annual tuition of $26,000 nearly four times. More importantly, the annual return on Harvard's endowment could, if sent to Africa, save 30 million lives, according to one recent estimate by my colleague Robert Hahn.

It might at least be better if more of the money accomplished academic or social objectives and less of it was squandered on high salaries and fancy pianos. There is really only one way to improve the system: The stakeholders must be forced to loosen their collective grip on the money. If, for example, tenure were abolished and all professors received renewable five-year contracts, the market would provide a natural and much-needed discipline. A professor who would like to indoctrinate his students with some lunacy would likely be self-restricted by the knowledge that he would have to sell that lunacy to an employer a few years hence. And any organization is less likely to spend extravagantly on enduring luxuries when the membership turns over frequently.

Today's universities are an inefficient system that takes resources away from worthy charities and funnels them to lazy masters. We can do better.

Kevin Hassett is a resident scholar of economics at the American Enterprise Institute.

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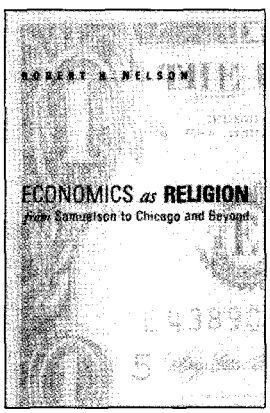
BookTalk

THE NEW FAITH

By Eileen Ciesla

Economics as Religion: From Samuelson to Chicago and Beyond
By Robert H. Nelson
Penn State University Press, 378 pages, $35



The House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church offered the following opinion on the cause of the September 11 attacks: "The affluence of nations such as ours stands in stark contrast to the other parts of the world wracked by crushing poverty which causes the deaths of 6,000 children in a morning." The bishops' opinion is a variation on a theological theme: Poverty is the source of evil. Salvation is contained in the wealth of nations. This view is not Christian. It is based on a competing religion whose creed replaces Original Sin with scarcity and Paradise with prosperity. That religion is economics.

Robert Nelson, professor of public policy at the University of Maryland, examines this idea in *Economics as Religion: From Samuelson to Chicago and Beyond*. Today's economists, says Nelson, serve as "the priesthood of a modern secular religion," forming the basis of America's core social value: economic efficiency. Behind the technical jargon and mathematical models, economists are "engaged in an act of delivering religious messages…promises of the true path to salvation in this world, to a new heaven on earth."

Nelson perceives two schools of thought in the development of economics: Roman and Protestant. The Roman tradition with its emphasis on natural law, an elite priesthood, and belief in a rational world, is likened to the rise of American Progressivism and its faith in the scientific management of society by a class of experts. The apex of this ideal is found in Paul Samuelson's 1948 textbook, *Economics*, which fused post-WWII America's new enthusiasm for science with the Keynesian fine-tuning approach to the market. *Economics*, writes Nelson, with its heroic "poetry of large government" and commandments against monopoly and inefficiency, served as a Progressive's bible.

Samuelson's romantic view of progress was seen as utopian by a new generation of economists led by Frank Knight at the University of Chicago. Nelson classifies this response to Progressivism as "Protestant" in character. Knight scorned the notion that a class of experts could determine the path to prosperity. Like Martin Luther, he advocated "a priesthood of all believers," acting in their own self-interest. "Human reason," he believed, "was a frail instrument, often corrupted by the baser elements in human nature." Private property was a necessary evil. Such individualism and belief in a world corrupted by sin, fundamentally Calvinist in nature, regards each individual as responsible for his own salvation. Breaking with Keynesian conventional wisdom began the genesis of libertarian thought at Chicago. A new economic gospel extolled freedom as a means of "maximum power for an individual to control his or her own actions" believing that "men prefer freedom to efficiency."

Where Nelson applies these two Christian traditions as a loose guide to the evolution of the economics profession, it provokes useful debate. But later, Nelson's analysis becomes self-serving. Looking at the ideologies that compete with economics for believers, he finds two: radical environmentalism and Roman Catholicism.

In reading selectively Pope John Paul II's recent encyclicals on capitalism, *Centesimus Annus*, and on human rights, *Evangelium Vitae*, Nelson finds them (in combination) critical of both Samuelson's progressive gospel and Gary Becker's utilitarianism, on the grounds that both emphasize secular humanism.

This is a misreading of *Centesimus Annus*. The encyclical speaks of a joyful entrepreneurial spirit, stressing the importance of intellectual capital, initiative, and skill, while warning against the "consumerist values" that result in a society driven purely by self-interest. Rather than opposing economic progress, the Pope defines a Catholic Work Ethic. But Nelson merges the encyclical on capitalism with papal writings on abortion to

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conclude that the Pope shares an anti-progressive affinity with enviro extremists, "offering a high moral sensitivity that is not accompanied by a similar economic knowledge and sophistication."

This is a gratuitous reading. It is clear that the Pope recognizes a crucial piece of the market paradox: Capitalism works best in a moral society. Human beings are the world's most valuable resource.

Nelson demonstrates nicely that the methodology of economists is far from value-free. That is not necessarily bad, but Nelson stresses that economists must recognize the implications of their assumptions. They would stand to gain by including culture and religion in their analyses, something that most economists are reluctant to do. At best, ignoring the fundamental forces that shape human societies leads to less meaningful results. At worst, economists risk becoming irrelevant within the social sciences.

Nelson's book is a challenge to economists to see their field anew. If they accept the challenge, it may shed light on puzzles that plague academicians and policy makers alike: Why does the West succeed at building robust economies, while Russia, Africa, and the Islamic world struggle with the basics of a market system? If private property is the key, why do some societies protect it, while others do not? How does a nation build a society of trust? What is ultimately at the root of the wealth of nations?

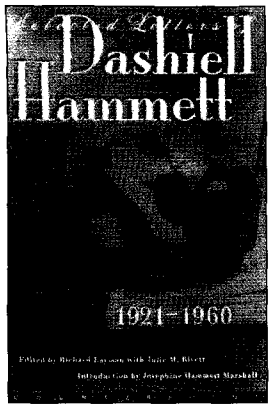
The House of Bishops might be surprised at the answer.

Eileen Ciesla is the 2001-2002 Warren Brookes Fellow at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

RED HARVEST

By John Meroney

Selected Letters of Dashiell Hammett: 1921-1960
Edited by Richard Layman and Julie M. Rivett
Counterpoint Press, 650 pages, $25



In March of 1947, Dashiell Hammett, author of such classics of mystery fiction as *The Maltese Falcon* and *The Thin Man*, wrote to his daughter, describing how his life had been consumed with political activism. He would start on a play or novel and inevitably get distracted because of his commitment to, as he wrote, the "Jews, Negroes, trade unionists, Communists, pseudo-Communists, suspected Communists, imaginary Communists, and god knows who all the Trumans, Tom Clarks, Tom Deweys, Vandenburgs, Bilbos, Rankins, Hoovers big and little, and other so-and-so's of the sort choose to jump on." Sequestered on a farm in Pleasantville, New York, Hammett planned to head for the big city to help organize a rally in Madison Square Garden protesting the anti-communist foreign policy of President Truman and to throw a dinner for Henry Wallace.

The portrait that emerges at the end of the *Selected Letters of Dashiell Hammett* isn't one of an *artiste* dragged kicking and screaming into politics. And contrary to how Hammett has been depicted in biography and film—the talented victim of Red-baiters who left him helpless, ill, and destitute—his correspondence shows his story to be much more complicated. The letters give a much truer sense of the man and how he willingly let Stalinist politics dominate his life. Sadly for Hammett's readers, it was his unmaking, ending the career of one of the great crime writers of the twentieth century.

For a time, Hammett lived the American dream: He went from being a high-school dropout to having Alfred Knopf and John Huston knocking at his door. His greatest successes came during the Depression. It was then that Hammett almost single-handedly created the genre of hard-boiled detective fiction, making Sam Spade, Nick Charles, and the Continental Op legendary private dicks.

When he first pitched his detective stories, he traded on his brief career as an investigator for Pinkerton's National Detective Service. Corresponding with the editor of *Black Mask*, a pulp magazine that published some of his first pieces, Hammett described the art of detective work: "Even a clever criminal may be shadowed for weeks without suspecting it. I know one operative who shadowed a forger—a wily old hand—for more than three months without arousing his suspicion. I myself trailed one for six weeks, riding trains and making half a dozen small towns with him; and I'm not exactly inconspicuous—standing an inch or so over six feet."

Discovering that "there was more fun in writing about manhunting than in that hunting," he seems to have created a factory, writing to his editor at Knopf during the summer of 1929, "How soon will you want, or can you use, another book? I've quite a flock of them outlined or begun.... I've also about two hundred and fifty thousand words of short stories .... [D]on't you think that something profitable for both of us could be done... by making quite a bulky collection—selling them by the pound, as it were?"

Less than a year later, Hammett was riding high, with three novels in bookstores and another, *The Thin Man*, on the drawing board. He was reportedly making $800 a week—at a time when a good annual salary was $4,000. But all that success was short-lived. At a cocktail party thrown in 1930 by Darryl Zanuck, Hammett met aspiring playwright Lillian Hellman. It was all downhill from there.

As the letters show, Hammett's relationship with Hellman was curious: She seemed to have little other than trouble to offer him. She was terribly unattractive, and in constant need of Hammett's tutoring for her own writing.

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Still, his love for her seemed genuine. "I haven't a single bit of news beyond what I told you over the phone," Hammett wrote to her in 1934, "except that I love you very much please and would ask that you might find it possible to return my affections if it so happens you could do it without too much trouble."

By the early 1940s, Hammett's literary successes were history. He had bouts of wild drinking, attempted suicide, contracted venereal disease, and was charged with sexual assault. Like Hellman, Hammett had also become a committed Communist Party member, deeply involved in the organization's affairs. In the late '40s, he raised close to $1 million for a slush fund for a Party front group called the Civil Rights Congress. Hammett's causes, though, extended far beyond civil liberties: He supported Stalin's purges in Moscow and opposed FDR's Lend-Lease aid policy to Britain during World War II.

As the letters show, Hammett's Party loyalty now eclipsed any passion he once had for his art. Even for the most dedicated liberals, his brand of politics had become repugnant. Walter Winchell referred to him as "Hammett and Sickle." When a federal judge asked Hammett to reveal the source of $260,000 he raised to post bail for Party operatives who'd been convicted of attempting to violently overthrow the government, he was defiant, refusing even to state his name in court. The judge sentenced him to six months in the federal pen in Kentucky. "This is the first letter I've written since I've been in the clink, so if it's no better than usual let's pretend I'm out of practice," he wrote to his daughter, Josephine, after arriving there in October 1951.

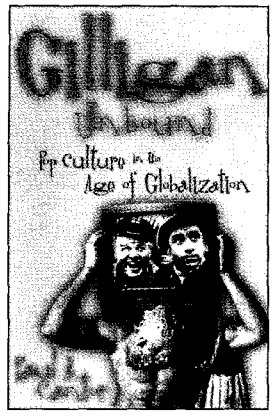
Dashiell Hammett's letters document the tragic story of how the Communist Party ravaged the lives of those who got caught up in it.

TAE associate editor John Meroney is writing a book about Ronald Reagan's Hollywood career.

GLOBAL POP

By Eli Lehrer

Gilligan Unbound: Pop Culture in the Age of Globalization
By Paul Cantor
Rowman & Littlefield, 255 pages, $27.95



Gilligan Unbound, Paul Cantor's smart, lighthearted analysis of American TV's attitudes toward globalization, is not the sort of book you'd expect from a man with Cantor's resume. A University of Virginia Shakespeare scholar and an at times outspoken conservative, Cantor began to think seriously about pop culture over a decade ago. He has now produced a book about TV and global affairs. He focuses on four shows. Two from the '60s, *Star Trek* and *Gilligan's Island*, have become cultural icons through reruns. Two from the '90s, *The Simpsons* and *The X-Files*, stand among the longest-running and most influential shows of the decade.

If nothing else, *Gilligan Unbound* is a good read. Cantor, one of the few scholars to examine pop culture from the Right, avoids the overwrought, jargon-heavy academic prose typical of the cultural-studies Left. He writes with humor and wit whether discussing Shakespeare references in *Star Trek* or analyzing the cultural significance of *Simpsons* Kwik-E-Mart owner Apu Nahasapeemapetilon.

While *Gilligan's Island*, replete with bad writing and awful acting, is among the worst dreck ever to flit across the airwaves, Cantor looks carefully at the characters and plots. He argues convincingly that Gilligan's band of castaways represents the cocky pre-Vietnam American attitude that the U.S. and its citizens were capable of remaking the entire world.

Cantor likewise examines the Simpsons family and their town of Springfield with sophistication. Cantor says that *The Simpsons*, which mixes serious social commentary with bizarre highjinks and satire, and on its surface seems a cynical rant against traditional values, actually "celebrates the spirit of small-time America."

Cantor's look at the two dramas, however, proves incomplete. The discussion of *Star Trek* begins promisingly with an analysis of the show as a reflection of the Cold War-era hopes and anxieties of Americans, but he only scratches the surface. Two fan-favored episodes, "The Cage" and "City on the Edge of Forever," go almost unexamined. Such science-fiction-based explorations of human personality are what made the show endure. By focusing on lesser episodes, Cantor misses the emotional content that gave the show its cultural longevity.

A similar problem emerges with *The X-Files*. While *Star Trek* had sociopolitical ambitions from the start, *The X-Files* did not. Series creator Chris Carter's primary influence was the little-remembered 1970s "monster of the week" show *Kolchak: The Night Stalker*. In its first two seasons, *The X-Files* used its own monsters of the week and a deliberately confusing "mythology" about a space-alien invasion to explore the sexual tension between two comely but chaste leads and the dread and uncertainty that monsters and space aliens evoke. The show produced some of the greatest television ever: well-written, wonderfully acted, and genuinely frightening. As it began to use mythology to make political points, the show faded from greatness.

Cantor shows that TV's treasures and trash alike can offer serious commentary on the state of the world.

TAE senior editor Eli Lehrer wrote the first X-Files *drinking game.*

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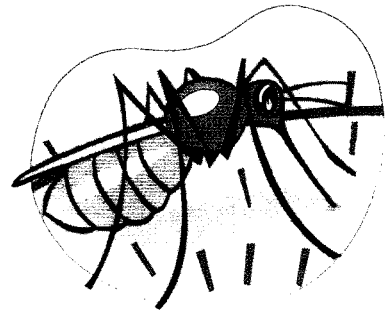
Edited by Eli Lehrer

Digest



Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

SOCIETY

Should Public Universities Seek Profits?

David Kirp and Patrick Roberts, "Mr. Jefferson's University Breaks Up," in *The Public Interest* (Summer 2002), 1112 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

In the search for better ways to run public universities, many have suggested allowing them to operate like their private counterparts. In one of the first such large-scale experiments, the University of Virginia, founded by Thomas Jefferson in 1819, has essentially privatized its business school. While the business school's reputation has improved, David Kirp, a Northwestern University sociologist, and Patrick Roberts, a University of Virginia Ph.D. candidate, explore whether the situation is good for the university or higher education in general.

Amidst sharply declining public-sector subsidies and a state-imposed freeze on tuition rates, UVA's Darden Graduate School of Business Administration won a large degree of independence from the University's central administration and the state legislature's dictates. It pays no attention to university-wide budget shortfalls, keeps 90 percent of the money it raises, has built a lavish $77 million campus, and reaps millions from an executive education program. The changes came mostly under the reign of Dean Ted Snyder, who negotiated a sharp reduction in the percentage of "tax" the always-profitable business school pays to the University. In return, the business school lost almost all of its public subsidies. "Darden has made pursuit of money its main activity," write Kirp and Roberts. Other units of the University of Virginia are attempting to copy Darden's financial success.

What makes sense for Darden, however, may not help the University as a whole. While the business school has been climbing the all-important *Business Week* rankings, its faculty members do less research than their peers at other elite institutions. Business school professors have little interaction with their colleagues in other parts of UVA. The authors wonder if "the University can maintain...intellectual community if learning becomes just another consumer good."

Let the Market Fight Terror

Eli Lehrer, "The Case for a Private National Identity System," The Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, 1020 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

In the wake of September 11, proposals for national identity cards—all-purpose identification documents—have become increasingly popular among Americans. Under many proposals, national identity cards would replace everything from immigrants' green cards to drivers' licenses. They would reduce hassles for citizens while making it easier for law enforcement officials to monitor wrongdoers. Civil libertarians, however, have raised significant concerns about the effectiveness of such a system and its ability to protect privacy rights.

In a decision memorandum for the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, *TAE* senior editor Eli Lehrer proposes a voluntary national identity card system. Under such a system, the federal government would maintain a database of biometric information (such as fingerprints or eye scans) along with lists of foreigners in the United States, as well as convicted felons. People would identify themselves by providing a fingerprint or answering a series of personal trivia questions. Forging identity database entries would be nearly impossible.

Under Lehrer's proposal, private companies would provide the cards and control all the actual data except for terrorist watch lists and criminal records. The government could not access citizens' records without a search warrant. U.S. citizens without felony

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records could opt out of the database altogether. Lehrer argues that such a system could provide ample protection against common criminals and dangerous terrorists and that "far from trampling on democratic liberties...a private national identity system could help Americans preserve and enhance them."

POLITICS

Less Support for Big Government

G. Calvin Mackenzie and Judith Labiner, "Opportunity Lost: The Rise and Fall of Trust and Confidence in Government After September 11," The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

After the Watergate scandal Americans' trust in government began to decline precipitously. Following the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, however, the percentage of Americans that trust the government hit highs not seen since the 1950s. According to the Brookings Institution's G. Calvin Mackenzie and Judith Labiner, however, this newfound trust in government had largely evaporated by the spring of 2002.

In a report from the Brookings Center for Public Service, the authors review a wealth of polling data. In October of 2001, 57 percent of Americans—one of the largest majorities on record for this question—said they trusted the federal government to do the right thing all or most of the time. By May of 2002, that figure had fallen to 40 percent.

While President Bush remains personally popular, public opinion about elected officials, Presidential appointees, and the federal workforce in general has also declined notably.

Public support for bigger government, which spiked after September 11, has also fallen close to its pre-9/11 levels.

The authors conclude that the moment of greater trust in government was "apparently without long-term effect."

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

A New Attack on Malaria?

Junitsu Ito et al., "Transgenic Anopheline Mosquitoes Impaired in Transmission of a Malaria Parasite," in *Nature* (No. 6887), 4 Crinan Street, London, England N1 9XW

Malaria kills anywhere from 1 to 3 million people a year, almost all in the Third World. The death toll is projected to double in the next two decades. Discoveries that reduce its impact are likely to have vast implications for public health.

Recently, researchers genetically engineered a mosquito that is 80 percent less likely to pass on malaria to its victims. Previously, the spread of malaria could be countered only by using either drugs or pesticides. Mosquitoes can develop immunity to both, and the most effective kinds of pesticides (like DDT) make many governments squeamish.

Ito and his co-authors report that they added a gene to mosquitoes which prohibits malaria transmission from the point where a mosquito takes in its blood meal to where it ordinarily transfers the disease to its next host.

Released into the wild, such mosquitoes would be unable to transmit malaria and could thus stop epidemics. Nevertheless, the researchers find that the global problem of malaria has not been solved just yet. The unaltered mosquito selected for the experiments is native to India, leaving questions as to whether the alteration would work in different species of mosquitoes, and researchers conducted the experiments in a laboratory with mice, not humans.

Further testing will discover if the inserted gene will work against the human form of malaria or if a similar gene could be inserted with that form in mind.

Other genes could be added which would reduce the likelihood of transmission even further. Large, controlled trials in the field will be necessary to determine if the inserted genes will spread to the regular population of mosquitoes and survive. —*Howard Fienberg*

Pot Makes You Stupid

Nadia Solowij, et al., "The Long-Term Negative Effects of Cannabis Use" in *Journal of the American Medical Association* (March 6, 2002), 515 N. State Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610

Many drug legalization proponents believe that marijuana causes few social problems. Nevertheless, significant medical questions remain, such as whether heavy, frequent, or prolonged use of cannabis leads to any lasting deterioration in mental functioning. Given that over 7 million Americans use marijuana on a weekly basis, this is an important public health issue.

Solowij and her colleagues in a variety of American and Australian universities and hospitals put together a retrospective study of 102 Americans who were near-daily users of marijuana.

Half of them had used the drug for an average of 24 years, while the other half had used the drug for an average of ten years. A control group had never used the drug.

A variety of intellectual tests was given to the participants, measuring attention, memory, and cognitive functioning.

Long-term marijuana users performed significantly worse than the other two groups when it came to memory and attention. The test results demonstrated a generalized memory deficit that impaired learning, retention, and retrieval of information, which the researchers concluded could "impact functioning in daily life." Test results worsened as duration of use increased.

However, there appeared to be no difference in abilities between the shorter-term users of cannabis and the control group. This led the researchers to

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believe that duration of use affects cognitive impairment more than does quantity or frequency of use. Solowij and her colleagues pointed out that most cannabis users stop using the drug before they suffer serious effects. About 20 percent of users, however, take the drug longer. The researchers also conclude that there would be little risk to users of marijuana for medical purposes. —*Iain Murray*

ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

Allow Organ Selling

David Kaserman and A. H. Barnett, *The U.S. Organ Procurement System: A Prescription for Reform,* American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Since the mid 1980s, the federal government has outlawed any payments for transplant organs—even from family members of sick individuals. According to Auburn University economist David Kaserman and A. H. Barnett, who teaches at the American University of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates, this policy has been an abject failure. In 2001 alone, over 7,000 people died while waiting for organ transplants.

The shortages stem not from a lack of available organs *per se,* but rather the unwillingness of many individuals to donate their organs after death.

Kaserman and Barnett propose allowing payments to the families of deceased individuals in return for organs. Such a policy, they contend, would alleviate shortages of organs and save thousands of lives each year. "It seems to us indefensible to argue that one group of people should be denied lifesaving transplants simply because another group (which neither supplies nor demands cadaveric organs) prefers altruistic supply over market exchange," they conclude.

OTHER COUNTRIES

The Path to Anglosphere

Robin Harris, "The State of the Special Relationship," in *Policy Review,* (June/July 2002), 818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

A former top aide to Margaret Thatcher finds that the recent goodwill between the U.S. and the U.K. is threatened.

Robin Harris argues that Britain's role in the war on terror has been largely symbolic, because the country lacks the military resources necessary to provide a significant practical contribution. America outspends Britain on military research ten to one, implying that the gap will continue to grow.

These problems are exacerbated by Prime Minister Tony Blair's political choices. He has compromised on a variety of other issues in order to get his skeptical Labor party colleagues to back America. This uneasy settlement is not likely to remain solid.

Blair also faces the entrenched opposition of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The State Department has been a driving force in the move for British participation in half-baked plans for European integration. Harris suggests that the solution is to ground U.S.-British relations in hard reality. America must recognize Britain's contribution to security in terms of strategic advice, its U.N. Security Council vote, its presence in NATO, its intelligence capabilities, and its willingness to fight. These benefits are based on the foundation of language, culture, and economic interests. This combination of common interests—the "Anglosphere" —casts doubts on the recent American strategies of placing hemispheric or Pacific interests above the U.S.-U.K. relationship while encouraging European integration. He argues that Britain must increase its defense spending and support missile defense.

In turn, America must insist that Britain stop taking part in further European integration and shift its national focus back to the Atlantic alliance. The U.K. *will* comply if America insists—and both nations will benefit.—*Iain Murray*

Russia Builds a Legal System

Leon Aron, "Russia Reinvents the Rule of Law" in *Russian Outlook,* American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

AEI scholar Leon Aron finds a wealth of heartening changes in the Russian legal system. Under Soviet communism, judges were low-paid servants of the Communist Party with little independence or prestige. Since the Evil Empire's dissolution in 1991, however, Russia has made great strides in setting up "a true Russian *Rechtsstaat*—a lawful state." Aron highlights three important reforms. First, judges are now paid well and, like American federal judges, enjoy life tenure. Second, they have gained powers of judicial review and can declare administrative acts and laws unconstitutional. Finally, judges gained a clear upper hand over the procurators—super-powerful district prosecutors—who made nearly all major legal decisions under communist rule.

The judges have made good use of these new rights. In the last few years they have overturned residency permit requirements, mandated that the state provide alternative service for conscientious objectors, and acquitted "spies" accused by the Federal Security Bureau (the successor to the KGB). The passage of a new criminal procedural code in December 2001 ended double jeopardy in criminal cases, guaranteed jury trials, made bail an option and put the burden of proof on prosecutors. Aron concludes that observers can fairly see these developments as evidence of "the final break with the Soviet past."

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Opinion Pulse

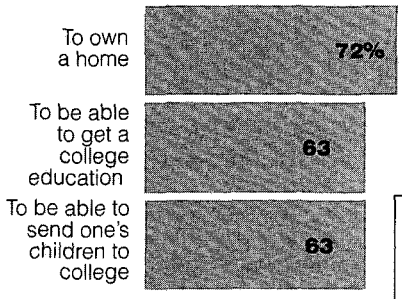
Edited by Karlyn Bowman

The Higher Education Imperative

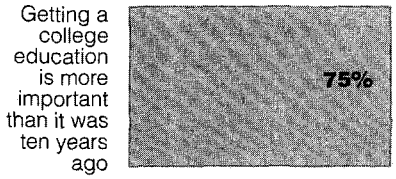
More than 60 percent of Americans say that being able to go to college or provide a college education for their children is what the American Dream is all about, and three quarters say getting a college degree is more important than it was ten years ago. The symbolic and practical value of a college degree explains why more people than in the past say that the more college-trained people there are in the country, the better off we will be.

Question: I'm going to read you some possible definitions or descriptions of the American Dream, and for each one I'd like you to tell me if that's...

Very much what the American Dream means



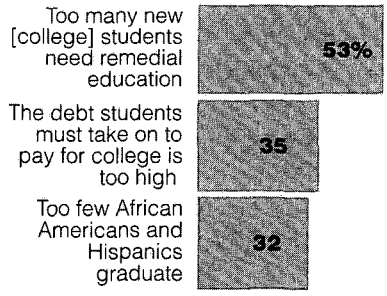
Question: Do you agree...?



Source: Public Agenda, February 1998.

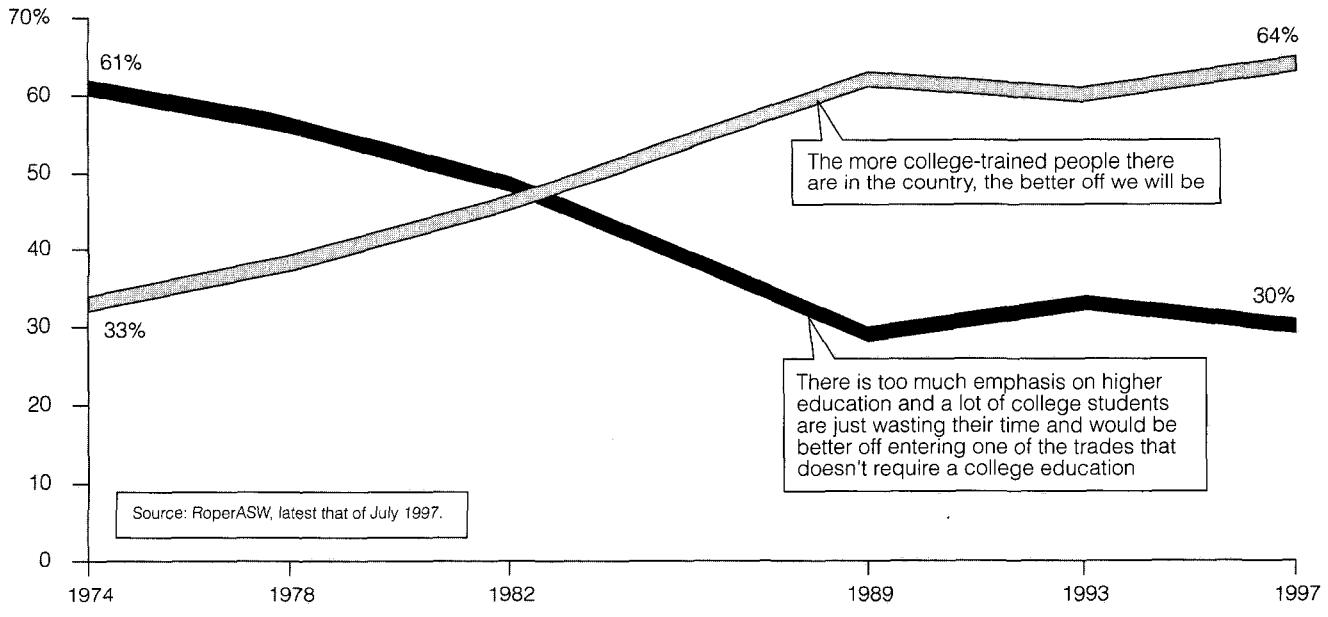
Note: Several other issues ranked higher than being able to go to college, including having freedom of choice in how to live one's life (70 percent), living in an open society in which everyone has an equal chance (67 percent), having a financially secure retirement (67 percent), and being able to get a high school education (66 percent).
Source: RoperASW, December 2000.

Question: How serious a problem is it that...?



Note: Sample is a mail survey of college professors (130 respondents), college administrators and deans (163), business leaders (146), and government legislators or advisors (162).
Source: Public Agenda, October 1998.

Question: As compared to a generation ago, a good many more young people are going to college today. Some people think this is a great thing and...?



Source: RoperASW, latest that of July 1997.

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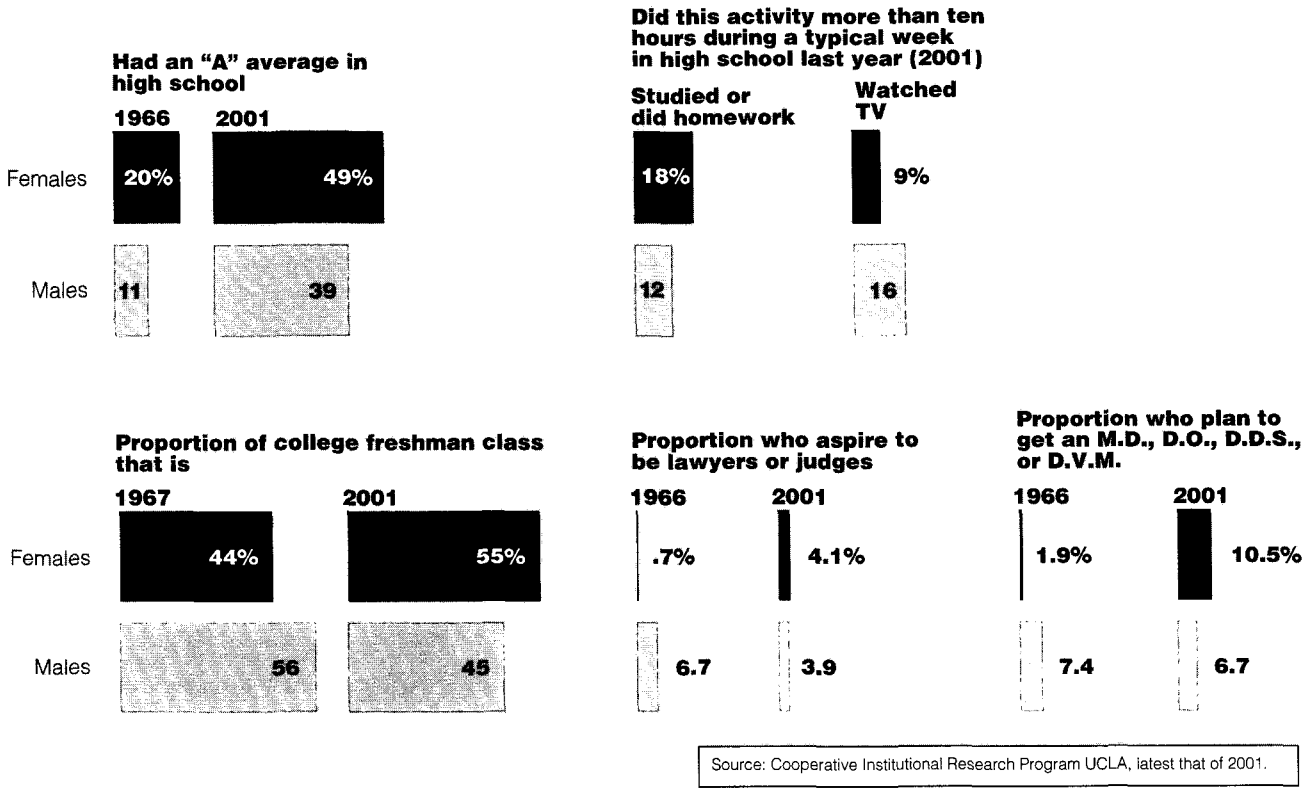
Where the Girls Are

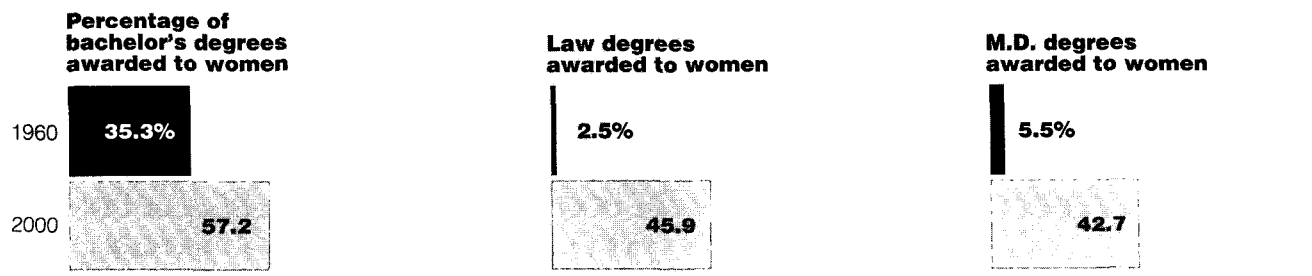
They're on college campuses pursuing advanced degrees in record numbers while young men are lagging behind. Young women appear to be working harder in high school than are young men and getting better grades. Fifty-five percent of freshman college classes are female today. Women are more likely than men today to aspire to be lawyers and to plan to get M.D. degrees. More than half of all bachelor's and master's degrees are now awarded to women. Forty-six percent of law degrees go to women, as do 43 percent of M.D. degrees.

College Freshmen



Source: Cooperative Institutional Research Program UCLA, latest that of 2001.

Actual Performance



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, latest that of 2000.

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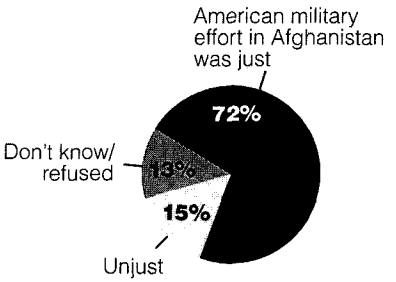
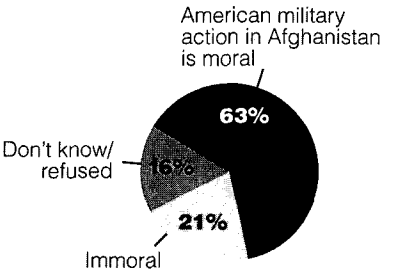
College Students' Attitudes

For years, conservatives have complained about the political views of faculty members, particularly those in the humanities. But faculty attitudes haven't radicalized students. The number of college freshmen who consider themselves far left or liberal is down since the question was first asked in 1970. Conservatives have gained a bit of ground, but most students call themselves moderates. Recent surveys show that college students support the war on terrorism and consider themselves patriotic. Majorities say they would serve, in some capacity, if drafted.

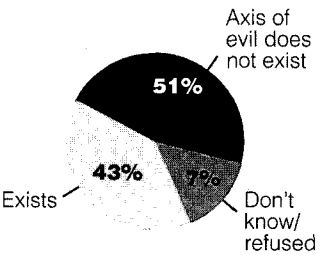
Question: Was the...?



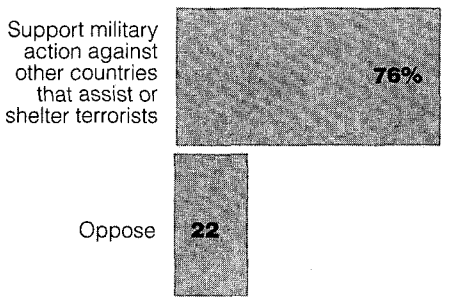


Source: Luntz Research Companies for Empower America, May 2002.

Question: President Bush used the term "axis of evil" to describe nations that mean us harm. Does...?

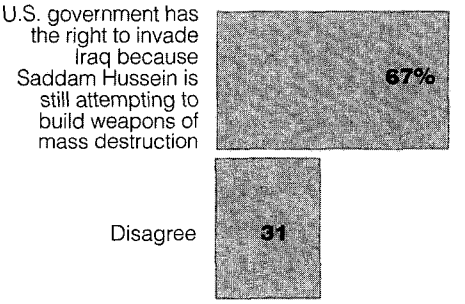


Question: Would you...?



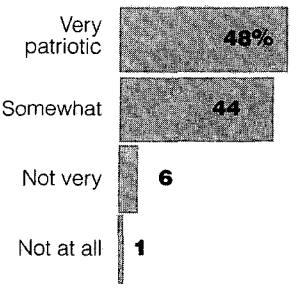
Source: SWR Della Volpe for the Institute of Politics at Harvard, October 2001.

Question: Do you agree...?



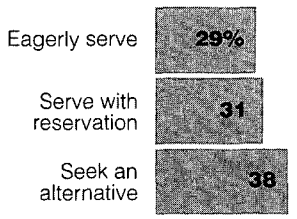
Source: Luntz Research Companies for Empower America, May 2002.

Question: When it comes to your feelings about being an American, do you consider yourself...?



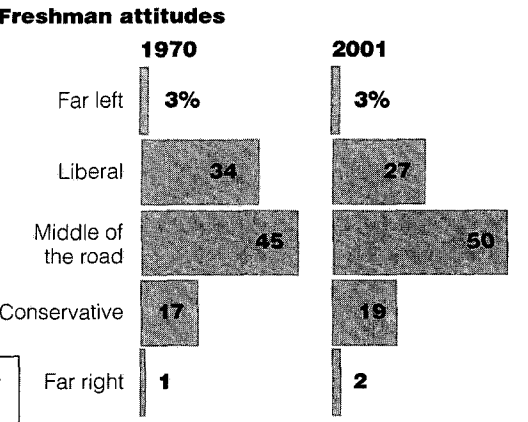
Note: These responses are very similar to national ones.
Source: SWR Della Volpe for the Institute of Politics at Harvard, October 2001.

Question: If a draft was reinstated and you were selected, would you...?



Note: A question in the Luntz poll found that 34 percent would "serve and fight anywhere in the world" if they received a draft notice, 21 percent would serve, but only if stationed in the U.S., and 37 percent would most likely try to evade the draft.
Source: SWR Della Volpe for the Institute of Politics at Harvard, October 2001.

Question: How would you characterize your political views?



Note: Sample is college freshmen.
Source: Cooperative Institutional Research Program UCLA, latest that of 2001.

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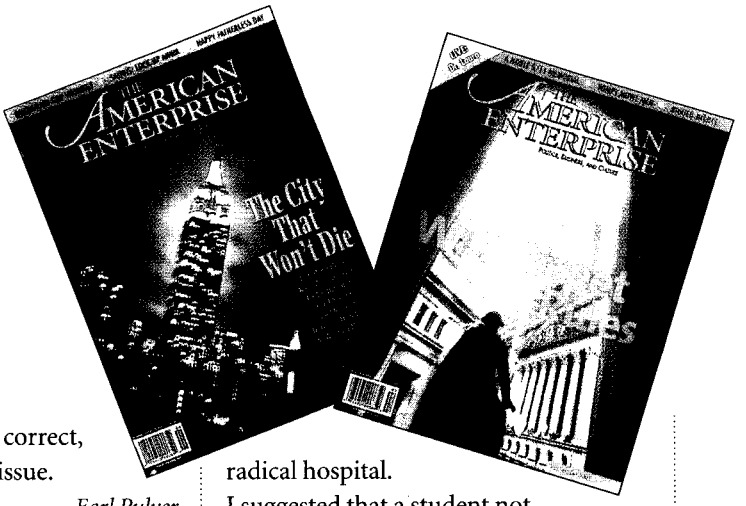
the Mail



In "Wimps, Whiners, and Weenies: Men in Movies Today," (July/August), Don Feder lists lots of wimps. But his list of "real men" leaves out Charlton Heston, a major star who has sacrificed a great deal to defend the Second Amendment.

He's a real man by any standard.

Frank Miglin
Bradenton, Florida

You address correctly the problem of homosexuality in the Catholic clergy ("Catholics Need Truth," SCAN, July/August). However, you fail to address the additional problems that now confront the Catholic Church, such as a manipulative hierarchy and misappropriation and outright embezzlement of church funds.

Edward Mahoney
Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania

Contrary to what Fred Siegel writes ("Ground Zero for Big Government," June), it was William O'Dwyer, not his brother Paul, who succeeded Fiorello LaGuardia in New York's City Hall in 1947.

Edwin Stillman
Levittown, New York

Your warning on the proposed new mandate for side-loading washing machines (THE DIGEST, July/August) gave me pause.

Consider this: Buying a new side-loading machine saves only 4.4 cents per load. Given how little this is, maybe we would be better off conning women into going back to doing all washing by hand.

This is not politically correct, but it would resolve the issue.

Earl Pulver
Franklin, Massachusetts

David Schaefer's piece on my talk before the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy ("Medical Clown," SCAN, June), made me smile at capitalism's desperate attempt to defend its vulgarity by denigrating generosity.

Let me correct some of Mr. Schaefer's statements. For those who can pay, I do charge $20,000 to give a presentation. For many lectures, like the one he wrote about, I take a dramatic pay cut. The Massachusetts talk was organized by a student who wanted the other students at the school to hear my message of compassionate, fun, and generous medical services.

In any case, the check is written directly to the Gesundheit! Institute (our foundation) not to me. I live in an office-apartment, where I work every day—from 7 a.m. to 3 a.m—to build a free hospital in West Virginia.

This is a project on which I've worked without interruption for more than 31 years. I have no property except books and clown toys and take home $500 or less each month. If I leave the project, I take nothing with me. I doubt if anyone else in the U.S. who makes $1 million a year can say this.

I don't lament not receiving millions from the movie about me—I mentioned it during the long question-and-answer period after my speech in order to describe the complexity of building our radical hospital.

I suggested that a student not pay back enormous medical school bills only after I was asked about how to serve humanity.

I gave several possibilities before I said that, for a rare few who really wanted to live a life of service, that living such a life was a "payment" of their loan.

I specifically said that under no other circumstances, except to fully serve humanity, should anyone else fail to pay his loans. It is irresponsible of our corporate federal government not to educate our doctors for free. Doing so would cost only a tiny fraction of our vulgar military budget.

Patch Adams
Arlington, Viriginia

David Schaefer replies:
Patch Adams's letter demonstrates anew why he would serve humanity better by continuing in the noble cause of providing medical care to the poor than by asseverating about politics.

Earth to Adams: It is citizens, not the "corporate federal government," who actually must work to finance the government's activities.

As an ex-New Yorker who detests the place, I rate "The Insufferable Wonder" (BIRD'S EYE, June) the best thing written on New York City.

The city is utterly insufferable now and forever.

Jack Doremus
Tallahassee, Florida

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862–5867. Or e-mail TAE@aei.org. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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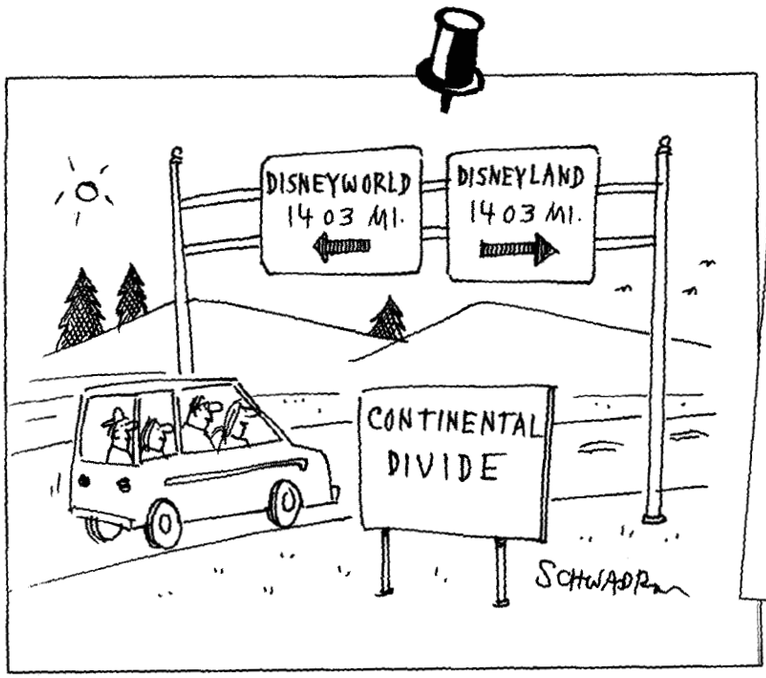

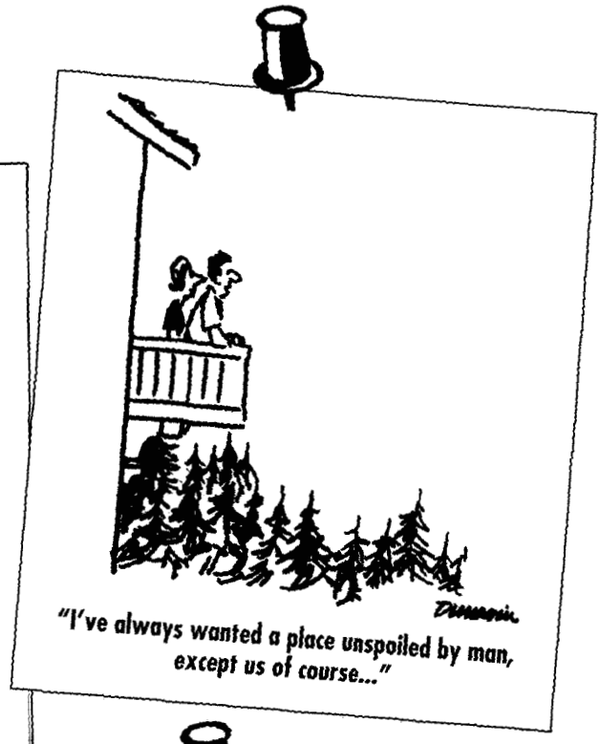

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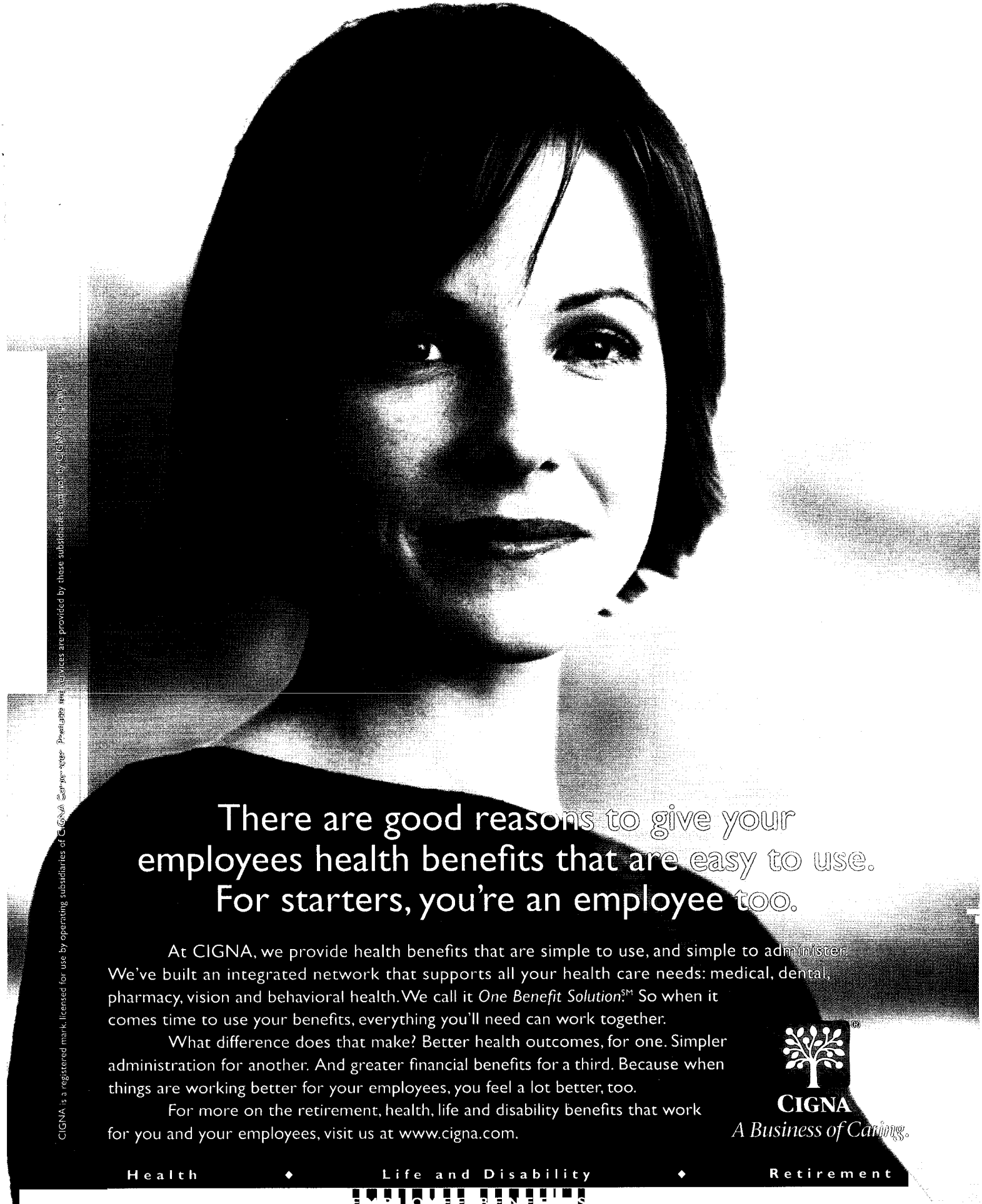

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> If ever there was a time to get all our energy from one source, this isn't it.

ENERGY: WHAT'S EMERGING > The estimates are hair-raising. By 2020, the U.S. will need 45% more electricity. And it's the little things that are hurting us: Your home PC sucks up half as much energy as your refrigerator. Clearly, no one fuel can answer the demand. Hence, Exelon's diversified energy portfolio. We're generating nuclear energy more efficiently than ever. We're researching solar power. And soon, we'll be the East's largest marketer of wind energy. Because there's no solution to the energy problem. There are several. > More at exeloncorp.com

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